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Jan. 09, 2009

**You Are What You Hear: The Relationship Among Race,  
Class, Gender and Musical Taste**

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2009

## **Abstract**

### **You Are What You Hear: The Relationship Among Race, Class, Gender and Musical Taste**

By: Carrie Coward Bucher

*This dissertation makes use of Tajfel's social identity theory to illuminate the social psychological processes that underlie Bourdieu's Theory of Taste as it applies to personal preferences for musical genres. A small convenience sample of undergraduate students is used to assess perceptions of the prototypical listener of a particular genre and to explore the ways in which those perceptions may color respondents' willingness to denigrate that genre. Additionally, using the 1993 General Social Survey, a hierarchical cluster analysis reveals that the intersection of race and lower education leads to a particular disdain for country and heavy metal music. Lastly, I provide evidence for a re-imagining of Bourdieu's Theory of Taste where social identities act as a mechanism for the development of personal taste and its use in boundary making processes.*

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“As the twig is bent the tree inclines” ~ Virgil

This dissertation, and all of the blessings that stem from it, would not exist without the support of my mentors, family, and friends.

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And to my husband, who always seems to think I can do anything. Thank you for listening, for making me laugh, for easing my burden, and for a million gentle assurances that all will be okay. Like Jack said, it is always better...

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## Chapter One: Introduction

Preference for a given set of cultural goods, or one's taste, is the result of a social process that reflects and supports the larger social structure. It reflects structure to the extent that persons divided by social categories such as race, class, and gender exhibit patterned differences in their preferences. Taste supports the social structure to the extent that the tastes of the dominant class are valued in such a way as to allow some members of society access to social, educational, and economic resources while excluding others. Take, for example, your average suburban high school. Cliques of students will learn to enjoy those artists appropriate to their social standing and to use this taste as a way of solidifying pre-existing social boundaries. The fan of R&B singer Chris Brown will know, almost intuitively, that she is different from the fan of Fall Out Boy. And surely both will hold a great deal of contempt for the fan of Jessica Simpson.

Although most sociologists of culture agree on these assumptions, exciting and heated debates have arisen regarding their specific causes and consequences. This dissertation incorporates the theoretical and empirical work of social identity theorists in an attempt to highlight the social psychological processes that are often assumed, rather than examined, in various theories of cultural sociology. In so doing I address three questions. What perceptions do audiences have regarding the prototypical listener of a musical genre? What social and symbolic boundaries are made salient as an audience divides itself from one another? And, lastly, what role do social identities play in the formation of personal taste?

Bourdieu's (1984) opus *Distinction* has provided the framework for a wealth of information on the role of taste in the reproduction of inequality. His intricate, and at times convoluted, explanation of the development of the *habitus* and its effects on social interactions has been a source of inspiration and frustration for many a sociologist. Indeed, Bourdieu's Theory of Taste (BTT) has received mixed empirical support in the United States. Despite some support, measures of cultural capital have failed to consistently affect educational attainment in the predicted direction (Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997; DiMaggio 1982; Dumais 2006; Kingston 2001). Furthermore, American elites are not nearly as exclusive in their tastes (Lamont 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1992) as conventional interpretations of BTT would expect. Indeed, where some see BTT as suggesting that elites will snobbishly restrict themselves to high-brow goods, these scholars find that American elites consume a broad variety of cultural goods, albeit in patterned and predictable ways (Bryson 1996; but see Holt 1997).

This paper focuses on musical taste to re-visit and re-imagine a central tenet of BTT, the *habitus*. The *habitus* is conventionally understood to be a set of dispositions or preferences towards cultural goods that are a function of class status and transmitted through the family (Bourdieu 1984). When an individual is raised in a wealthy family that is detached from the concerns of everyday life, such as acquiring food, money, or housing, s/he develops an aesthetic disposition that is detached from the practicalities of the real world. In practice, this leads the child of the wealthy family to develop a *habitus* that appreciates cultural goods for their form, or artistic effects (i.e., art for art's sake), in spite of their (entertainment) function or lack thereof.

This detached disposition is in direct contrast to the popular aesthetic of the lower classes where the abstract form is superseded by the function of the cultural good. So the individual whose family works hard and has little free time develops a taste for cultural goods that have an entertainment purpose, such as creating humor. On the other hand, the individual whose family is not burdened by hard work learns to enjoy abstract cultural objects without the pressure of time or financial constraint. In his research, Bourdieu (1984) found that when respondents were asked what objects would make a beautiful photograph, highly educated (wealthy) respondents were more likely than their less educated counterparts to appreciate abstract objects such as the bark of a tree or cabbages while rejecting traditional scenes such as a first communion or a sunset. He takes this as support for his assertion that childhood wealth is a precondition for the development of a habitus that understands and appreciates “legitimate culture” – those cultural objects and activities (e.g., high culture and classical music concerts) that are esteemed by elites.

This conventional interpretation of BTT rightly emphasizes the structured and structuring nature of the *habitus*. That is, the *habitus* is not only the product of socialization but also plays a role in the reproduction of interaction patterns. It is the *habitus* that allows us to choose the appropriate black dress and bottle of wine for a dinner party, and it is the *habitus* that allows us to identify and avoid the inappropriately dressed guest with awkward social skills and a bottle of Mike’s Hard Lemonade. This conventional interpretation of the *habitus* can be criticized, however, for glossing over the mechanisms by which the *habitus* is developed and used for boundary making.

Indeed, literature in the BTT tradition has struggled to articulate the relationship between the development of the *habitus* as a function of class status and the worthiness of

that *habitus* as cultural capital (Dumais 2002, 2006). Cultural capital is a series of symbolic cues, such as behaviors and attitudes, that are widely understood to be a signal of high status and may, therefore, be used for exclusionary purposes (Lamont and Lareau 1988). Current debates in the literature revolve around the intersection of multiple forms of privilege in the formation of the *habitus*, the process by which taste is used as an exclusionary tool, and the omnivorousness of the American audience. In keeping with other cultural sociologists (DiMaggio 1997; Rubtsova and Dowd 2004) I argue that these debates in the literature might be informed by bringing the social psychological processes inherent in BTT to the forefront. In this study I first focus on the role of perceptions in the use of taste as an exclusionary tool. I then explore the process of audience segmentation. Finally, I explore the role of social identities in the creation of taste patterns.

In so doing I hope to provide a theoretical context in which we might re-imagine the *habitus* as the product of our social identities; as one facet of the definitions we apply to ourselves due to our membership in social categories. In this framework, taste acts as a tool for the development, maintenance, and expression of the self. By extension taste also operates as a means by which we categorize and evaluate others as in or out-group members<sup>1</sup>. Thinking of the *habitus* in this way adds to the predictive value of BTT by providing a context for understanding both omnivorous tendencies and the source of disdain for some genres.

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<sup>1</sup> I focus exclusively on musical taste in this dissertation due to its use in the bulk of the literature stemming from BTT, including *Distinction* itself and the seminal pieces of Peterson and Kern (1992), Bryson (1996) and others. This has been done for clarity regarding the past literature and the arguments made here, but ought not be taken as an assertion that musical taste acts differently or uniquely in regard to taste for other cultural goods such as film or television.

In chapter two I lay the theoretical groundwork for this study. I discuss in detail Bourdieu's (1990) articulation of the formation of the *habitus* and its role in the reproduction of inequality. I then present several criticisms of this perspective as they have been articulated in the cultural capital literature. I conclude this chapter by arguing for a re-formulation of our understanding of the *habitus* in light of social identity theory. In chapter three I discuss the empirical literature on the omnivore debate. I particularly emphasize the formation of taste clusters and the academy's interpretation of them. I conclude this chapter by articulating hypotheses meant to assess the role of perceptions in social boundaries and the process of boundary making. In chapter four I review the literature on identity and consumption. I present a series of hypotheses that test the validity of re-imagining the *habitus* as a product of social identity. Chapter five details the methods used for the study and chapter six presents the findings. I conclude with chapter seven, a summary and discussion of this work with avenues for future research.

## **Chapter Two: Background Theory**

### *Cultural Capital*

The relationship between personal taste and the larger social structure has been the focus of sociologists for over a century. Marx argued that the material conditions of the social structure dictate the content of that society's culture in such a way as to support and reproduce the social structure. Working from this perspective some theorists portray the consumer as a manipulated pawn (Zukin and Maguire 2004) while others picture an agentic consumer who manipulates cultural goods in order to present him or herself as sophisticated and influential (Veblen 1899; Weber 1978). Bourdieu (1984) incorporated aspects of these theorists to specify the basic Marxian premise (Brubaker 1985). His

theoretical and empirical work characterized taste as a product of socialization and as a tool used in the reproduction of social inequalities. Bourdieu's writings have provided the foundation for a great deal of sociological inquiry, including the present study. The following review of BTT is by no means exhaustive, but instead focuses on the formation of the *habitus* and its role in the formation and maintenance of symbolic boundaries.

BTT works from the assertion that in a modern capitalist society humans interact in distinct economic and cultural "fields," i.e., social contexts where social actors struggle for power and legitimacy. Within each field, such as the educational field or the economic field, exists a suite of behaviors, attitudes, and actions that are rewarded as being indicative of competence and worthiness (Dumais 2002; Rubtsova and Dowd 2004). One can imagine the dress, manners, and conversation topics that may be appropriate in the work place, but seem odd in the classroom.

In the field of consumption there exists a hierarchy of cultural goods (from orchestral music to pop music) that is directly related to the social and economic hierarchy of that goods' consumers. Bourdieu (1984) concluded that preference for elite (or non-elite) cultural goods was a direct function of the social structure. Recently this idea of structural homology, or a one-to-one relationship between class and aesthetic disposition or *habitus*, has come under debate in the literature (Chan and Goldthorpe 2004; Coulangeon and Lemel 2007; Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro, and Lopez-Sintas 2007). The role or function of consumption patterns in the maintenance of symbolic and social boundaries, however, continues to receive empirical support (Bryson 1996; Coulangeon and Lemel 2007; Holt 1997).

Symbolic boundaries are used in the sorting of people and objects into specific or “appropriate” categorizations (Lamont and Molnar 2002). In the field of consumption social actors sort and categorize both the self and others into groups based on their preference for certain cultural products, e.g., the designation of a particular person as either a country fan or a fan of the opera. When symbolic boundaries are widely accepted they may become the basis for social boundaries, the concrete differences between groups’ access to resources due to pattered social exclusion (Lamont and Molnar 2002). That is to say, possession of the “right” tastes act as a form of cultural capital that can then be traded for membership in elite social and economic circles, thereby reproducing class inequalities. Indeed, DiMaggio (1987: 443) suggests that taste “helps to establish networks of trusting relations that facilitate group mobilization and the attainment of such social rewards as desirable spouses and prestigious jobs.” Note that Bourdieu (1984) argues that this process of using taste as a basis for constructing symbolic and social boundaries is an inherent, but unintended, result of social interaction (Bourdieu 1984; Holt 1997). This facet of BTT is an important one, as it contradicts previous social theorists who emphasized a manipulative or calculating consumer.

Central to BTT is the *habitus*, a theoretical concept whose definition and function have been the source of much confusion and intense debate (Goldthorpe and Chan 2004; Holt 1997; Lau 2004; Lizardo 2004). Bourdieu himself is, in part, responsible for this confusion due to the slight variations he added to each iteration of his definition. In a broad sense, when considering the field of consumption, the *habitus* can be thought of as the individual’s aesthetic disposition, or set of preferences for cultural goods (Bourdieu

19884; Lamont and Lareau 1988). Lizardo (2004), however, calls attention to Bourdieu's (1990: 53) more specified final definition offered in *The Logic of Practice*:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, *structured structures* predisposed to function as *structuring structures*, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends.

This definition underscores three important aspects of the *habitus* that are relevant to the development and use of cultural capital for social gain. Specifically, it characterizes the *habitus* as the product of class privilege while simultaneously acting to reproduce status inequalities through inadvertent exclusionary consumption patterns. I clarify below the importance of these concepts to our understanding of the role of preference for cultural goods in the maintenance of symbolic boundaries.

First, this definition highlights the *habitus* as a structured matrix of dispositions that the individual has developed due to his or her family's position in the social structure. When a child is raised in a wealthy family that is detached from the concerns of everyday life (such as acquiring food, money, or housing) he or she develops a preference for the abstract, the artistic merit, or the form of a cultural good regardless of its entertainment function. Given that this structured matrix of dispositions is a result of larger social structural conditions, the wealthy child's detached disposition is in direct contrast to the popular aesthetic of the lower classes. The child of a wealthy family, who is unburdened by the daily tasks of survival, develops a taste for cultural objects that are difficult to decode such as complex pieces of music or visual art (Holt 1997). The child of the middle and lower classes, on the other hand, develops a taste for cultural those

goods that provide a quick pay-off in the form of easy entertainment. One might take, as an example, the difference between a night at the ballet and a night viewing the latest installment of the film series “Die Hard” (“Live Free or Die Hard”).

Second, the *habitus* is not simply, however, a receptacle for cultural codes that reduces the individual to a mere mold of class-based realities. The *Logic of Practice* (1990) definition emphasizes the transposable and structuring nature of the *habitus*. That is to say, the *habitus* is a matrix of cognitive schema used to organize, classify and compartmentalize the actor’s social world. Lizardo (2004: 385) interprets this definition to mean that the *habitus* is “a set of flexible and transposable *procedures*, bodily and mental transformations, that are simultaneously a model *for*, as well as a model *of*, reality ...” In this sense the *habitus* not only allows the wealthy child to appreciate classic examples of high culture, but it also allows him or her to transpose that information in order to identify new elite goods, artists, and art forms in addition to other elite consumers (Lizardo 2004). Consequently, a preference for certain cultural goods can be used as a way to systematically identify and pigeonhole individuals into their ‘appropriate’ social location: “Being the product of the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, it unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from all others” (Bourdieu 1984: 56).

The third aspect of Bourdieu’s (1990) definition that is relevant to this paper is the assertion that the *habitus* allows the actor to draw symbolic boundaries without a conscious effort. Indeed, Holt (1997) states that the power of the *habitus* in the reproduction of social inequality stems from the actor’s perception of his or her own consumption as the ‘disinterested pursuit’ of cultural goods rather than a calculated step

to ingratiate themselves into, and exclude others from, elite social circles (Holt 1997). In this way the children of the wealthy are rewarded with access to informal networks while the lower-class child is ‘instinctively’ dismissed as being uncouth. The child who lacks knowledge of and appreciation for legitimated cultural goods will not only be excluded from privileged social circles that could provide useful business contacts, but will also be at a disadvantage in an educational system that values elite culture and rewards those children who express a familiarity with it.

This relationship between elements of class (i.e., *habitus*, cultural capital) and educational success has received mixed empirical support (Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997; DiMaggio 1982; Dumais 2006; Kingston 2001). Indeed, high status parents are more likely than their lower status counterparts to enroll their children in extra-curricular arts activities and to hold expectations that the child will obtain a college degree. This combination of a high status parental *habitus* and the child’s cultural capital has a negligible effect on teacher’s perceptions of the child’s ability. Furthermore, children from lower SES families received greater benefits from their cultural capital than did their high SES counterparts (Dumais 2006). In regard to student grades, a student’s cultural capital, operationalized as knowledge of and participation in artistic endeavors, has a negligible effect. Skills, *habitus*, and socio-economic status were found to have a greater impact on educational outcomes than cultural capital. These studies suggest a more complicated relationship between *habitus*, cultural capital and educational success than Bourdieu suggested.

Others (DiMaggio 1982; Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997) provide evidence of a significant and continuous effect of student and parent cultural capital on educational

attainment. DiMaggio (1982) found that measures of student and parent cultural capital significantly affected high school student's self-reported grades net of academic ability. Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) specify this work by parsing out the effects of parental cultural capital and student cultural capital obtained either in early childhood or later in the child's educational career. The authors found that early childhood cultural capital and parental cultural capital decline in significance over the educational career. In later transitions, such as from middle school to high school, the child's acquired cultural capital plays a greater role in educational success. These findings have been criticized for lacking consistency in the variables used to measure cultural capital, *habitus*, and academic success (Kingston 2001). Despite these critiques, I take this literature as offering illustrations of the effect of cultural advantages among the children of elites.

To summarize BTT, economic and social conditions breed a preference for cultural products that are signifiers of status. Having this preference for or knowledge of legitimate culture is then traded for continuing access to economic success<sup>2</sup>. Specifically, processes of inclusion and exclusion based on taste (used intuitively as a proxy for class) rewards social actors for familiarity with the dominant culture, allowing them to translate the *habitus* into economic success. In the field of consumption, stratified tastes reify the economic system of rich and poor by creating a parallel cultural system where only a few have access to the right culture (1984). Bourdieu concludes, then, that there is a patterned and predictable 'economy of cultural goods' (1984:1) that is determined by the material conditions that inspire preference.

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<sup>2</sup> Although this paper focuses exclusively on cultural capital, Bourdieu identified three forms of capital as having an effect on the reproduction of social inequality. In addition to cultural capital, he identifies social capital (or social connections) and economic capital (Bourdieu 1991; Rubtsova Dowd 2004).

*Cultural Capital Debate*

Bourdieu's Theory of Taste has spawned an exciting line of research, as well as robust debate, regarding the utility of cultural capital as an explanatory tool in the contemporary United States. Critics of the theory argue that Bourdieu's theory does not explain the work of Lamont (1992), Peterson and Simkus (1992) or Peterson and Kern (1992). These authors discovered an increasing number of American elites who were not snobbish in their preferences for cultural goods. Rather, they consumed a variety of high-brow and non-highbrow goods. The broadening of elite consumption patterns should not, however, be taken for unbounded inclusiveness. Bryson (1996) argues for a multi-cultural capital where elite patterned exclusivity rejects genres associated with lower education, i.e., country and western, gospel, rap and heavy metal. Others refer to this trend as omnivorousness and suggest that the consumption of a wide variety of cultural goods, from high art to popular culture, has become the valued form of American cultural capital (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996). These findings are in direct opposition to the common interpretation of Bourdieu, which suggests that elites consume cultural goods with an exclusive disdain for common goods. How can these empirical findings be explained?

Douglas Holt (1997) argues that this apparent disconnect between theory and American empirical work is due, in part, to a mis-reading of the original work and the limitations of survey research. Specifically, Holt (1997) argues that BTT rests on the notion of signifying practices. That is, high status is conveyed through the appreciation of goods that are difficult to decode. Given that the goods consumed will change over time and region, such as from classical music in Bourdieu's Paris to independent film in

modern America, the crux of cultural capital lies not in a high/low culture divide but rather in the practice of consuming a type of good in such a manner as to convey one's elite status. As such, survey data is limited in its ability to measure cultural capital because it fails to capture the interplay between embodied cultural capital (how the good is consumed), the actual goods consumed, and the symbolic meaning of those goods in that society (Holt 1997).

Holt (1997) further argues that more attention should be paid to the role of hegemony that is implicit in Bourdieu's theory. Similar to the ideas of Gramsci, Bourdieu argues that taste reproduces the social structure not through explicit domination of the lower classes but through the ability of the upper classes to set the standards by which taste is evaluated. "Tastes, then, serve as an effective exclusionary resource as long as tastes vary systematically with social position" (Holt 1997: 95-96). Thus, while Americans may not verbally disparage non high-brow cultural goods, and may even enjoy some of them, the embodied performance of the *habitus* remains exclusionary through the self selection of friends and colleagues according to patterns of taste. If one accepts this reading of Bourdieu, then the findings of the omnivore researchers can be re-read as the discovery of new patterns of elite taste while supporting the original cultural capital hypothesis.

Despite Holt's (1997) helpful reassertion of the usefulness of BTT, several questions remain. First, Bourdieu (1984) does not offer an explicit reason for disregarding the impact of other social categories such as race and gender on the development of the *habitus*. Certainly if the *habitus* is differentially developed due to class privilege, then it would follow that it might be differentially developed according to

other forms of privilege as well (Bryson 1997). Over 70 years ago DuBois (1901) described the emotional and cognitive energy required of black Americans in their navigation of a racialized social landscape. DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) suggest that this double consciousness leads to a pattern of cultural consumption called dual engagement, whereby middle-class black Americans consume historically Afro-American art forms alongside elite Euro-American cultural products. This dual engagement is thought to reflect an appreciation for dominant forms of cultural capital in addition to sub-cultural capital (see Thornton 1995 for a discussion of sub-cultural capital). Others have suggested that the social and economic conditions of minority populations in the United States and the Western world produce cultural objects that bridge traditional and western aesthetics (Manuel 1995). These products are, then, inherently postmodern in their a-historicity. Consider, for example, Nas' sample of Fur Elise in his song "I Can."

Bourdieu (1984) may be similarly criticized for his limited treatment of gender as a distinct analytical category. Indeed, he argues that cultural capital itself is gender neutral and is only affected by gendered uses of said capital. That is, men and women develop similar types of cultural capital but trade it according to the gendered expectations of their field (McCall 1992). McCall (1992) argues that this view limits the extent to which we understand gender, and "gendered dispositions," as a contested arena of domination. Bourdieu's (1984) inadequate treatment of gender in the development of the *habitus* is particularly surprising given his assertion that women are largely aesthetic creatures and it is the women who insure their families are displaying the correct cultural capital by choosing clothing and teaching manners (Silva 2005). Recent research has

begun to address these issues by suggesting that multiple axes of stratification influence the development and use of cultural capital (Bryson 1996; Tampubolon 2008; Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005) with exciting results. Indeed, research suggests that African-Americans exhibit less omnivorous consumption patterns than whites and gender interacts with SES such that women with a lower SES consume more high-brow goods than their male counterparts.

In addition to providing insufficient attention to multiple forms of social privilege, BTT lacks a theoretical explanation for the relationship between the *habitus* and inter-group relations. Specifically, to what extent do we associate musical genres with social categories? Do group members denigrate non-group members via their cultural goods? That is, are rap and country music disliked because of their perceived association with low-status groups? Also, is disliking a genre equivalent to devaluing that genre?

Inter-group relations and the reproduction of inequality were paramount to Bourdieu's research tradition. He argued that dominant classes engage in a form of symbolic violence to legitimate their own cultural traditions, values, and products as an avenue for gaining power and privilege in society (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Over time the tastes and preferences of elites are perceived to be naturally superior to those of non-elites, such that non-elites concede superiority and accept their own failings (Bourdieu 1984). Cultural sociologists (DiMaggio 1997; Rubotsova and Dowd 2004) have argued that social psychological processes offer insight into the cognitive presuppositions contained within theories of cultural sociology – including BTT. Specifically, an understanding of the cognitive structures that unite and trigger cultural tools allows for a more complex and nuanced understanding of culture. I suggest that the

study of taste in modern America is an area that is ripe for incorporating social psychological processes into the sociology of culture. Specifically, social identity theory's (SIT) (Tajfel 1982) account of inter-group relations may provide a framework for understanding the *habitus* as an attribute on which categorizations of self and others are made. Furthermore, these inter-group processes offer insight into the process of exclusion/inclusion described by BTT. SIT (Tajfel 1982) and the relevant theoretical literature are reviewed below.

### *Social Identity Theory*

Like BTT, social identity theory's (SIT) (Tajfel 1982) sociological roots lie in conflict theory. The theory assumes that social actors are born into a pre-existing social structure where social boundaries have been drawn to differentially allocate power and status to some groups. These boundaries are drawn according to a number of attributes, including but not limited to race, gender, religion, nationality and class. Each category carries with it evaluative and emotive meanings that are derived through a comparison process with other groups (Hogg and Abrams 1988). That is, 'female' is only meaningful as a category to the extent that it distinguishes between females and 'not-females.' It is from these categories, SIT argues, that social actors will develop their sense of self.

Specifically, social actors engage in a process of self-categorization whereby they adopt the evaluative and emotive meanings associated with their social category. One develops a social identity, then, by describing, defining and evaluating oneself as a member of a social category, i.e., female, white, teenager. Tajfel (1972: 292) defined social identities as: "the individual's knowledge that he (*sic*) belongs to certain social

groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership.” Put another way, social identities are a series of internalized self-descriptions that are inspired by group membership. Through the self-categorization process an individual will see him or herself as being ‘like’ other in-group members along a number of attributes including attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Hogg 2006). This application of stereotypic in-group norms to the self is influenced by the subjective importance of that category to the individual and the severity of sanctions for violating these norms.

Research on inter-group relations is founded on two guiding principles that address definitions of self: the social categorization principle and the in-group positivity principle. The first refers simply to the formation of in and out-groups based on the categorization of social actors. The second, the in-group positivity principle, suggests that when individuals define themselves as members of a group, and subsequently accept and internalize definitions of self that are associated with that group, they will be motivated to evaluate that group in a positive way. This is because meanings associated with their social category are meanings associated with the self. For example, if I identify myself as a woman then I will be motivated to recognize the positive attributes of women in general, and any derogation of women would be a derogation of my self (Tajfel 1979). This process of self-enhancement through group identities leads to an in-group bias whereby trust, cooperation, and empathy are extended to in-group members more readily than they are to out-group members (Brewer 2007; Hewstone, Rubin and Willis 2002). I argue that self-enhancement through in-group bias is one avenue for explaining how the *habitus*, or one’s orientation towards the world, results in processes of

inclusion along multiple axes of stratification. That is to say, an individual who perceives taste to be a definition of self will use taste as a way of identifying other in-group members to whom trust, empathy, and cooperation ought to be extended.

SIT (Tajfel 1972) may also provide insight into how the possession of a particular *habitus* is used for exclusionary practices. By definition, when an individual categorizes him or herself as a member of a particular social identity, he or she also recognizes others as outsiders. Put another way, if I define myself as female then I am implicitly classifying others as either being female or not female. In the process of creating in and out-groups, social comparisons between the self and out-group members will be made in such a way as to accentuate between group differences (i.e., the inter-group comparison principle) (Brewer 2007).

Prototypes, or a series of attributes associated with social categories, are used as a descriptive tool in the categorization process. They provide a mental picture of attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs associated with specific social categories so that the actor may quickly and efficiently identify and place the self and others. In this sense, prototypes fulfill two functions. First, they allow the individual to compare his or her own attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs to the accepted attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs of his or her group. That is, they allow a process of self-stereotyping to occur so that the individual may internalize and successfully perform the various aspects of his or her social identity. Research suggests that social actors are motivated to more closely emulate the prototype when they are experiencing some form of individual or group threat (Brewer 2007).

Second, prototypes allow the social actor to perceive out-group members as highly similar to one another and distinct from the self in less than positive ways (Hogg

2006). For example, people tend to attribute the negative behaviors of out-group members to individual choice while the negative behaviors of in-group members are attributed to the environment or circumstance. Thus, as out-group members go through day-to-day life their negative behaviors (such as being out of work) are attributed to a willful choice (too lazy to work, would rather get a welfare check) and are perceived by others as fulfilling already existing negative stereotypes (Hogg and Abrams 1988). When the same behavior is exhibited by an in-group member the attribution is placed on external factors, such as a bad economy or illness, reducing the blame and highlighting the positive characteristics of in-group members. As this process is repeated over time and in multiple environments social boundaries are reproduced and, in some cases, legitimated resulting in inter-group strife, or the out-group hostility principle (Brewer 2007; Lindeman 1997). This process of using prototypes and unflattering attributions to create and maintain a positive social identity for the self offers insight into how taste might be used to reproduce social boundaries.

In agreement with those authors (DiMaggio 1997, Rubotsova and Dowd 2004) who have argued that our understanding of cultural processes might be enriched through the illumination of social psychological processes, I argue here that the role of the *habitus* in reproducing social inequalities can be efficiently illuminated with tools from SIT.

### *Combining Strengths*

It is the humble goal of this dissertation to bring these two disparate theoretical traditions into dialogue in order to address three distinct gaps in the literature. First, a small convenience sample of college students to determine the extent to which certain genres are perceived to be indicators of membership in a particular social category. This

analysis makes the link between symbolic and social boundaries more explicit, thereby laying the foundation for an exploratory analysis of the stages of audience segmentation to ascertain which axes of stratification are salient in each division of the audience. That is, do respondents divide along race, class, or gender lines when separating from a unified whole to two separate taste clusters – as the frequently invoked categories of omnivore and univore suggest? Are the same race, class, and gender lines invoked in the split from two to three taste clusters? Or from three to four?

In the United States, anywhere from two to six taste clusters have been identified (Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas 2007; Lopes-Sintas et al. 2007; Peterson and Kern 1996). Instead of attempting to determine the exact nature and number of taste clusters, this paper makes use of hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) to highlight the usefulness of understanding multiple levels of audience segmentation. That is, by understanding the increasingly fine-grained segmentation of the audience I provide an empirical description of how the audience invokes multiple axes of stratification to distinguish itself from one another depending on the level of distinction analyzed. Broadly stated, this chapter will illuminate the effects of social categories on taste and the use of those tastes to reproduce social and symbolic boundaries.

Second, this dissertation offers an understanding of the *habitus* as the product of a series of internalized self-definitions that are based upon one's membership in social categories. Consider Bourdieu's original suggestion that the *habitus* is a matrix of dispositions that has been shaped by the external conditions associated with one's class status. These dispositions are then used to classify others into their appropriate social location. This thesis offers no theoretical justification for why one form of privilege,

class, would have an impact on the formation of the *habitus* while other forms of privilege, such as race or gender, would not. Indeed, empirical evidence in the BTT tradition suggests that gender, race, and education also act as axes of stratification (Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock 2007; Bryson 1996; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan 2004). Additionally, the BTT literature has not yet elaborated the micro-level processes that underlie the findings generated from work on the omnivore/univore hypothesis. Specifically, why has the taste of certain elites (but not all; see van Eijck 2002) come to be characterized by omnivorousness? Why are non-elite individuals more exclusive than elites? I will attempt to elaborate on these questions by placing them in a theoretical context that illuminates the social psychological processes that trigger these phenomena.

I argue that the *habitus* is, indeed, a matrix of dispositions that are formed by external conditions and used to categorize people. Given the gap in BTT regarding micro-level processes, I suggest that this matrix of dispositions is shaped by normative understandings or definitions of self based on an individual's social identities. SIT theorists propose that the social actor's attitudes, behaviors, and likes/dislikes are influenced by his or her social identities (Jenkins 1992). I argue that the *habitus* is also a function of the individual's social identity. Put in BTT terminology, an individual's *habitus* is reflective of the self-definitions he or she has accepted due to his or her membership in social categories.

Thinking of the *habitus* in this manner clarifies two important assumptions that have not yet been sufficiently addressed. First, it gives the researcher cause to explore the assumption that social actors do, indeed, associate musical genres with particular

social categories for both the self and others. Specifically, to the extent that musical preference is an attribute of group membership it can then be used as an indicator of group status and, thus, as a tool for social inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, by excluding those who are not suitable for in-group membership the social actor is also able to identify those who are suitable for membership. In this sense preferences are used as an identifier of group membership. The second benefit, then, of theorizing the *habitus* as a function of one's social identity is that it provides insight into the use of symbolic boundaries drawn on the basis of taste as a proxy for social boundaries.

Predictions regarding the omni- and the univorousness of American consumers can also be made when we think of the *habitus* as a self-definition. Specifically, we expect persons with many social identities to have a *habitus* that includes a broad set of self-definitions and therefore a broad interest in cultural products. Conversely, the breadth of the *habitus* ought to be negatively influenced by a limited number of social identities. Secondly, because an actor's own identity is bolstered when his or her group identity is portrayed in a positive light, social actors should be motivated to value those genres with which they share a social identity. It is unclear, however, whether or not this in-group favoritism will necessarily result in out-group hostility. This paper makes use of a small sample of Atlanta undergraduate students to explore the relationship between dislike for a specific genre and denigration of that genre.

In sum, placing BTT within the context of SIT allows for a series of hypotheses to be developed that emphasize the use of personal preference for the construction and maintenance of social boundaries. In the following chapters I offer a summation of the literature on the omnivore hypothesis and the extent of our current understanding of the

segmentation of United States consumers, social identity theory and symbolic boundaries. I then outline the methods used for this project and the results of these methods. I conclude with a discussion of my findings and a number of avenues for further research.

### **Chapter Three: Social Location and Taste**

Personal taste acts as a framework that allows us to navigate the overwhelming number of choices available to the modern social actor on a day-to-day basis (Brooks 1982). An individual's taste for certain cultural goods helps to guide him or her through the millions of CD's, DVDs, magazines, newspapers, fashion lines, and television shows available to him or her. "Taste helps to place us ...aesthetically, economically, socially, and historically, taste gives a certain predictable consistency to our lives" (Brooks 1982:9). Sociologists have long accepted that taste is a socially constructed product of human interaction and from this premise much work has focused on teasing out which aspects of society are salient in the formation of individual taste. Bourdieu, and those who have followed in his research tradition, emphasize not only the social construction of taste, but also the use of taste in the construction and maintenance of symbolic and social boundaries. "At the causal level, symbolic boundaries can be thought of as a necessary but insufficient condition for the existence of social boundaries" (Lamont and Molnar 2002: 169). In this sense symbolic boundaries, or the cognitive process of categorizing objects, people, and practices in order to create an agreed upon reality, may constitute an ideology that legitimates social boundaries (the objective forms of distinction that are manifested in differential access to and distribution of resources) (Lamont and Molnar 2002).

As stated earlier, Bourdieu (1984) argued for a reciprocal relationship whereby elite social status produces an elite *habitus*, which then serves as a signifier of elite status. In the early articulations of BTT, the elite *habitus* was thought to be snobbish and exclusive in its appreciation of highbrow art forms (1984). Peterson and Kern, however, cast doubt on this presumption with their seminal (1992) piece on American musical preferences. They found that American elites have shifted their tastes and are now enjoying a broad range of musical genres, implying that they are more omnivorous than snobbish. The authors identify several social-structural factors, including changes in the dissemination of arts through popular media and increased social mobility, which may have influenced this shift in taste patterns. Other factors, such as a greater emphasis on gender, racial, and religious equality and the globalization of the arts have resulted in the availability and legitimation of a greater variety of goods. The authors argue that these changes in American society reduced the potency of traditional cultural codes, thereby forcing elites to develop new symbolic boundaries.

Today the omnivore-univore thesis has garnered much empirical support, and produced vigorous debate. I contribute to this literature by explicitly exploring the process by which society divides itself both symbolically and socially. That is, to what extent is taste used as a proxy for social categories? Also, which symbolic boundaries (preferences) are made salient when we analytically distinguish society from one to two to three taste clusters? This project employs hierarchical cluster analysis, factor analysis, logistic and multinomial regression in an attempt to substantiate Cat Steven's assertion that "the first cut is the deepest." In the following sections I review the omnivore

literature, the literature on taste as a symbolic boundary, and then present the hypotheses to be tested in the following chapter.

### *Omnivores*

Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984) provided a theoretical springboard for a wealth of empirical work on the relationship between cultural capital, social status and social boundaries. As stated previously, Lamont (1992) and Peterson and his colleagues (Peterson and Kern 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992) have provided empirical fodder for a new conceptualization of American elites. While Americans of all classes have come to enjoy a broad range of cultural products, the omnivore/univore hypothesis suggests that American elites have become significantly more omnivorous than their middle and lowbrow counterparts. Indeed, in opposition to Bourdieu's original assertion, non-elites now appear to be more exclusive and univorous in their taste (Peterson 2005; Peterson and Kern 1996). While some (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996) perceive the empirical results of the omnivore literature as a critique of BTT, others (Holt 1997) suggest that as long as consumption is patterned according to class then Bourdieu's theory remains a useful tool for understanding the reproduction of inequality.

Indeed, research does not suggest that elites are consuming cultural goods indiscriminately despite this trend of omnivorousness (Bryson 1996; Peterson and Kern 1996). Rather, patterned consumption practices, such as shunning commercialized goods for those thought to be authentic artifacts of socially marginalized groups, still distinguish elites from their middle and lowbrow counterparts (Holt 1997). For example, Holt (1997) finds elite, white, non-urban consumers who use rap as an expression of their worldliness or a certain cosmopolitan "je- ne- sais- quoi." Thus, the omnivorousness of

American elites merely indicates a shift in, as opposed to the eradication of, the status markers of highbrow American culture. Erickson (1996: 219) sums up this idea nicely:

Cultural inequality is not so much a hierarchy of tastes (from soap opera to opera), as it is a hierarchy of knowledge (from those who know little about soap opera or opera to those who can take part in a conversation about both). Those who have many cultural weapons can find one to suit that battle at hand ... thus the most widely useful form of cultural resource is cultural variety plus the (equally cultural) understanding of the rules of relevance.

In this way, taste retains its ability to serve as a signifier of social position. So, although the omni/univore hypothesis changes our understanding of the nature of elite tastes, it does not alter the assertion that there are two prominent taste clusters in the United States – omnivores and univores – and that the differences between them are the result of, and ultimately used to reproduce, social inequalities.

#### *Recent Advances in the Omnivore Literature*

Recent literature in the omnivore tradition, however, challenges the dichotomous nature of the omni/univore hypothesis. Indeed, a number of empirical projects (Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock 2007; Coulangeon 2007; Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro, Lopez-Sintas 2007; Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Tampubolon (2008); van Rees and van Eijck 2003), including Peterson (2005) himself, have identified anywhere from three to eight taste clusters. These studies, reviewed below (see table 1), suggest that the dichotomous nature of the original omni/univore hypothesis was too restrictive and did not offer a comprehensive or nuanced understanding of audience segmentation. What,

then, do taste clusters look like here in the United States? Research from abroad offers some important lessons for the fate of taste cultures in the United States. In seeking to unpack the assumption that audiences are differentiated by their preference for content (high or low-brow) as opposed to form (television or print), van Rees and van Eijck (2003) identify eight separate taste clusters. Their hierarchical cluster analysis of media consumption practices in the Netherlands suggests that segmentation is largely due to content, with medium implied. For example, serious content is gathered from newspapers while entertainment comes in the form of broadcast media. Furthermore, their confirmatory factor analysis suggests that eight factors (or taste clusters) are necessary to accurately capture the structure of the data<sup>3</sup>. Although not the main focus of their study, van Rees and van Eijck's work is particularly useful for the current study as a methodological model for using hierarchical cluster analysis and for its assertion that audience segmentation is better understood through the use of multiple clusters.

Several studies make the nature and number, as opposed to the formation, of taste clusters, their explicit focus. Using the Survey of French Cultural Practices from 1997, Coulageon (2007) finds five distinctive 'preference profiles' in his analysis of attitudes towards recorded music. This work suggests several interesting points. First, the author argues that while many clusters report a certain level of eclecticism in taste, none are characterized by wholesale acceptance of all musical genres. In this sense, we see that even eclectics or persons who claim to enjoy all forms of music do not, in actuality, enjoy all forms of music. Furthermore, a highbrow cluster and a lowbrow cluster exist

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<sup>3</sup> A regional and public factor, a serious information factor, a popular or public broadcast media factor, a female factor, a commercial radio or television factor, a computer and hobby factor, an internet factor, and a factor of people seeking stories in some form or another (videos, television or books).

alongside a cluster of individual's whose taste is reflective of a younger, counter-cultural *habitus*, a popular culture cluster, and a cluster of individuals who simply don't listen to music at all. From this we may conclude that thinking of the audience in terms of omnivores and univores is useful for understanding only a portion of the audience.

Van Eijck (2001) provides further evidence of the limited nature of the omnivore/univore hypothesis. He identifies three cultural discourses, highbrow, folk and pop, in the Dutch population. Within the highbrow discourse, however, lie two distinct taste clusters comprised of high status individuals: one that enjoys traditional expressions of high status such as classical music, and a second that enjoys more recently accepted signifiers of status such as jazz.

Tampubolon (2008) and Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock (2007) offer results for the United States that resonate with the above lessons abroad. Despite using different years (1993 and 2002 of the General Social Survey) and different measures (preference for musical genres versus attendance or participation in cultural events) both Tampubolon (2008) and Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock (2007) assert that the United States is comprised of three taste clusters with varying degrees of omnivorousness. Tampubolon (2008) uses a smaller number of genres (8 as opposed to 18) that span the high-lowbrow range and includes all five possible responses (very much like, like, mixed feelings, dislike, very much dislike) in his analysis of the 1993 GSS. This yields three clusters of taste, two of which are omnivorous with only a few distastes and the last is univorous with a distaste for several genres. Both education and socio-economic status are significantly and positively linked with membership in the omnivorous clusters. Tampubolon (2008) separates these clusters into traditional omnivores who like musicals,

and classical and folk music but dislike heavy metal and popular rock and popular omnivores who enjoy popular rock, jazz, heavy metal, and R & B but dislike country music. The univorous group, which consists of lower-status persons, singularly enjoys country music and dislikes musicals, folk, classical, jazz, and R & B music.

As stated, Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock (2007) also use the GSS to identify three clusters of Americans: the omnivores, the paucivores, and the inactives. Here, the authors consider participation in cultural events, such as attending a concert, the ballet or reading a book. Omnivores, who comprise 33% of the sample, exhibit great breadth and range of status in their cultural consumption. These omnivores are contrasted with those who report a more limited range of consumption, the paucivores. Paucivores are particularly likely to have consumed more popular cultural products, such as reading fiction or attending a movie. Although they are less likely than omnivores to go to the opera, they are far more likely to engage in some form of consumption than a member of the third cluster, the inactives. Indeed, the inactives report very low probabilities of consuming any cultural products, regardless of popularity.

Distinction regarding the different types of omnivores and univores in the 1993 GSS is further evident in the work of Sonnett (2004). Although the entirety of his work is not particularly useful here, it is interesting to note that he identifies a group of high status univores and lower status omnivores.

From the above literature one may conclude that taste clusters are not dichotomous in nature. These cross-sectional snapshots of consumers do not, however, fully answer the question “what do taste clusters look like here in the United States and abroad?” Indeed, Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005), using the Survey of Public

Participation in the Arts 1982-2002, build on Peterson and Kern's understanding of evolving taste clusters. In the 1982 data four distinct clusters are evident: passive, lowbrow, highbrow, and omnivorous. Passives attended very few cultural events while lowbrow's attended events that are associated with lower status while snobs were exclusive in their attendance at high status cultural events. The omnivores attended both high and low-brow events at greater rates than the passives. By 1992 a fifth cluster, the entertainment seekers, emerges. Finally, in 2002 a cluster of quasi-omnivores develops, resulting in six total taste clusters. The authors conclude that a process of cultural evolution has occurred in the United States whereby a greater diversity of people are consuming a greater diversity of cultural products. In this sense it becomes particularly useful to revisit assumptions made based on the image of the audience as a dichotomous group.

Indeed, Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas (2007) directly challenge the assumption that omnivores are necessarily highbrow cultural consumers. The authors again identify taste clusters in the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts 1982-2002, this time using measures of taste (high vs. lowbrow) and breadth (omnivore vs. univore). This analysis produces four taste clusters, the largest of which, labeled moderates, comprise 55.8% of the sample and enjoy only 1.6 genres. The smallest cluster, 8.8% of the sample, are the omnivores who are characterized by their enjoyment of a variety of genres (10 out of 13), while the remaining two clusters enjoy a smaller breadth of genres, 5.4 (limited) and 5.8 (temperates) respectively. Interestingly, the omnivore cluster is comprised of persons with a broad variety of tastes, but not necessarily a taste for highbrow products, i.e., both highbrow and non-highbrow omnivores are present in this

cluster. Although the temperates and the limiteds are also comprised of both highbrow and non-highbrow omnivores, it is the case that persons who consume highbrow cultural products are more likely to consume a variety of products than their lowbrow counterparts. Here, Garcia-Alvarez and colleagues (2007) provide support for the argument that when considering breadth and brow, four clusters result: highbrow omnivores, exclusive highbrows, lowbrow omnivores, and exclusive lowbrows (Emmison 2003; Peterson 2005).

In response to the question, what do taste clusters look like in the United States and abroad, we may conclude that audiences are divided into categories that are fluid in both nature and number. It is interesting to note that the same data sets, and even at times the same authors, produce different types and amounts of taste clusters. This may be due to the focus of the study, such as the differences between Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005) and Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas (2007). Indeed, the former is concerned with the evolving nature of taste clusters while the latter seeks to directly challenge the assertion that omnivorousness is exclusively associated with highbrow taste. Or, it may be due to methodology, area of the world, or the operationalization of taste. Regardless, the above literature clarifies an important assumption that was unexamined in the original omnivore-univore hypothesis; not all omnivores are highbrow consumers (Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas 2007), nor are all high-status individuals omnivores (Sonnnett 2004; van Eijck 2002).

With this understanding of what taste clusters may look like, one might be motivated to ask what makes a taste cluster? As stated previously, BTT assumes that class privilege is paramount in determining the development of the *habitus* while other

forms of privilege are thought to have a negligible effect. This assumption has been challenged by recent empirical evidence, which suggests that race, class, sex, and education may all work as axes of stratification in the development of taste. This literature is reviewed below.

### *Multiple Axes of Stratification*

Bryson (1996) offers one of the earliest forays into understanding the effects of social categories other than class on taste. She asserts that inclusive or omnivorous elites draw symbolic boundaries along educational lines. Specifically, as the mean educational attainment for a genre's audience decreases, musically tolerant persons' dislike for that genre grows<sup>4</sup>. This results in a pervasive dislike for rap, gospel, heavy metal, and country among otherwise omnivorous individuals. Additionally, two of these genres (rap and gospel) are associated with black culture, suggesting multiple axes of stratification.

Those who incorporate race into their Bourdieuan research traditions tend to emphasize the relationship among cultural capital, race, and the reproduction of social inequalities. For example, race is found to have an effect on classroom interactions between parents and teachers above and beyond the class effect. Specifically, the authors find that white parents' frustrations and criticisms of their children's schooling are more likely to be communicated to and received positively by teachers when compared to those of Black parents (Lareau and Horvat 1999). The suggestion here is that due to the long history of racism and discrimination in this country white parents are more likely than black parents to have developed a type of cultural capital that is traded for positive interactions with their children's teachers. Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999)

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<sup>4</sup> As stated previously, this finding has been challenged by Tampubolon (2008). It is included here due to its significance in the literature regardless of the recent debate.

further suggest that race and cultural capital interact to reproduce inequality. The data indicate that black students possess less cultural capital when it is measured as trips to museums, art, or music classes. This relationship remains significant when class is taken into account. Furthermore, black students' cultural capital does not "pay out" the same as white students' cultural capital. That is, measures of cultural capital provide a smaller return in terms of achievement for black students compared to those for white students (Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1999). This literature provides strong support for the assertion that race interacts with cultural capital independently of class.

Furthermore, research suggests that a relationship exists between race and personal taste. Recall DiMaggio and Ostrower's (1990) assertion that elite persons of color exhibit a dual engagement model of cultural participation whereby they consume highbrow cultural goods from traditionally Euro-American sources and from their own ethnic communities. This dual engagement phenomena is also found in the Netherlands, where persons who belong to ethnic minority groups display two types of cultural capital – one mainstream form and one tied to the culture of the group itself (Trienkens 2002). In addition to these studies, a number of the aforementioned taste clusters studies explore race and taste. Specifically, Alderson et al. (2007) conclude that being black reduces the odds of being either an omnivore or a paucivore over an inactive.

In addition to race, gender has been found to significantly affect cultural capital and consumption. Indeed, a great deal of the research in this area finds that women exhibit high-brow consumption patterns at a greater rate than men (DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan 2004). Lizardo (2006) is a notable exception. He argues that in occupational fields where cultural capital is highly valued, such as educators or

artists, there is no gender gap in highbrow consumption. In those fields where economic capital is highly valued<sup>5</sup>, however, women consume highbrow cultural products at a much higher rate than their male counterparts. A similar relationship is evinced in the work of Alvarez-Garcia, Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas (2007) where men and women in privileged social classes exhibit similar patterns of highbrow consumption but women in less privileged classes consume highbrow products at a greater rate than less privileged men.

What can we conclude, then, in response to the question what makes a taste cluster? The literature suggests that race, class, gender, and educational privilege all contribute to personal taste. The effect of these categories on taste, however, is not uniform. That is, in Bryson (1996) the argument is that taste is used as a marker to separate those with high educational attainment from those lacking advanced schooling. In this sense, taste is used as an exclusionary tool. When race and class are taken together taste is used to signal membership in elite circles (through the consumption of traditionally high-status goods) and minority circles (through the consumption of goods associated with race or ethnic groups). This paper builds on this literature in two ways. First, I explicitly investigate consumer perceptions regarding the stereotypical listener of specific genres of music. Then, using hierarchical cluster analysis, I will explore the process by which consumers invoke social categories and symbolic boundaries, in the form of musical taste, to distinguish themselves from in- and out-group members. These contributions are explained in detail in the following section.

#### *Perceptions and Social Boundaries*

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<sup>5</sup> This is measured by dividing the salary for a given occupation by the educational qualifications needed to obtain that occupation (Lizardo 2006).

I have stated that the academic community has drawn conclusions about the role of taste in the reproduction of inequality based on the unsubstantiated assumption that social actors associate musical genres with particular demographic categories. This is perhaps most evident in Bryson's assertion that tolerant elites dislike rap, heavy metal, country and gospel due to the uneducated fan-base of those genres. "I provide evidence of class-based exclusion in that the genres most disliked by tolerant people are those appreciated by people with the lowest levels of education" (1996: 895). This conclusion is problematic in two ways. First, Bryson (1996) uses the absence of a stated dislike as evidence of appreciation for a given genre. Second, although she finds that musical genres with low-status fans are disliked by high-status fans, she does not establish that it is the low-status fans that inspire the ire of high-status individuals.

Even as Tampubolon (2008) takes Bryson (1996) to task, he perpetuates the assumption that consumers associate social categories and musical genres. His findings provide evidence that directly calls Bryson's (1996) work into question. Indeed, heavy metal is strongly disliked by people with less than twelve years of education and enjoyed by some persons with higher degrees. Furthermore, even though many respondents with lower educational attainment enjoy country music, a large segment of the high-status omnivores also enjoy it. Given that low status respondents do not enjoy disliked genres more than their high status counter parts Tampubolon concludes that musical taste is not acting as a proxy of educational attainment. Although I agree with Tampubolon's (2008) critique of Bryson (1996), his own logic is problematic. Indeed, he not only suggests that consumers associate social categories and genres, but also that consumers are able to do so accurately!

I argue that the academic community is limited in what it can say about the relationship between consumer behavior and boundary making processes until consumers have been asked directly “who do you think listens to country music (or rap, or opera)?” That is, regardless of who actually or empirically consumes a particular genre, symbolic boundaries will be drawn according to the *perception* of a stereotypical consumer. Therefore, we cannot confidently state that rap or country music are disliked because of their association with low status groups, regardless of the empirical preferences of those groups, unless we explicitly determine that consumers *perceive* the stereotypical listener of those genres to be low status.

This paper uses a small convenience sample of undergraduate students in the Atlanta, GA area to explore the perception of association between genres of music and race, class, and gender. Given the small *n* of this sample, I limit my exploration to these social categories due to their importance in the literature on social boundaries (see Lamont and Molnar 2002). To assess this relationship I offer the following over-arching questions:

*Question 1a: Do respondents associate educational attainment with a given genre when asked to describe the prototypical listener of that genre?*

*Question 1b: Do respondents associate race with a given genre when asked to describe the prototypical listener of that genre.*

*Question 1c: Do respondents associate class with a given genre when asked to describe the prototypical listener of that genre.*

*Question 1d: Do respondents associate gender with a given genre when asked to describe the prototypical listener of that genre.*

### *Dynamic Taste Clusters*

The second focus of this dissertation is to understand which axes of stratification are invoked at multiple levels of audience segmentation. Here I am following in the methodological footsteps of van Rees and van Eijck (2003) by using a hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) to describe the process of segmentation. This kind of exploratory data reveals the symbolic and social boundaries that are invoked as the audience distinguishes itself from one another in increasingly fine-grained clusters. For example, will social boundaries such as race or gender be invoked in the refinement of one unified cluster to two? Or from two clusters to three? Perhaps symbolic boundaries, in terms of omnivorousness or highbrow taste, will be paramount in the segmentation of respondents. I will refrain from suggesting hypotheses due to the exploratory and descriptive nature of this analysis.

### *Conclusion*

To summarize, in this chapter I have reviewed the literature in an attempt to answer the following questions: (1.) What do taste clusters look like in the United States? and (2). What contributes to the formation of taste clusters? I have concluded that taste clusters are categorical and multidimensional social phenomena that are influenced by race, class, gender and educational attainment. This paper explicates the relationship between consumer's perceptions of the relationship between taste and social categories. I then offer a nuanced account of the process by which consumers divide themselves into ever more distinct clusters of taste.

The following analysis offers two important contributions to the literature. First, I introduce the study of taste clusters as a process rather than an end unto itself. That is, I

liken the concept of taste clusters to a road map rather than an end destination. Thinking of taste clusters in this way moves the discussion toward an understanding of how the clusters develop, change, or shift depending on the level of distinction. Specifically, this paper will demonstrate what steps are taken to move from a unified cluster to omnivores, paucivores, and inactives (Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock 2007) or to passive, lowbrow, quasi-omnivore, entertainment, snob, and omnivore (Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas 2005). Second, this analysis offers an explicit tie between symbolic and social boundaries. That is, I will offer an account of both the symbolic lines (such as omni/univore) and social boundaries (such as race or class) used by the audience to divide itself. In doing so I present a comprehensive picture of the relationship among race, class, gender, education, and personal taste. In the following chapter I present the literature regarding social identity and consumption practices.

#### **Chapter Four: Fusing BTT and SIT**

The second focus of this project relates to the value added by incorporating the empirical and theoretical knowledge of SIT into BTT. Reframing the *habitus* as the product of a series of internalized self-definitions that are based upon one's membership in social categories provides solid theoretical ground for a number of empirical debates within the BTT literature. First, SIT allows for an understanding of the mechanisms that underlie American omnivorousness, as discussed below. It also provides theoretical justification for the investigation of likes/dislikes or a combination of the two. Finally, it helps us to contextualize the relationship between disliking a particular genre and the denigration of that genre. This section first summarizes the current literature linking

cultural consumption to social identity. I then present the relevant literatures for each of the aforementioned contributions of SIT to BTT.

### *Identity and Cultural Consumption*

There is an exciting, cross-disciplinary literature that explores the creation and expression of identities through cultural products in general and music in particular (Belk 1988; Bryson 1997; DeNora 1999; Forman 2002). Scholars in this area argue that the products we consume are used to construct a sense of self as well as to communicate that self to others. In the most basic sense, the goods we consume are used as tools that allow us to enact our identities (Kleine, Kleine and Kernan 2000). For example, if 'athlete' is one identity that a social actor possesses, then he or she likely has athletic clothes (cleats, sneakers, yoga pants), athletic equipment (bats, balls, rackets), and even athletic foods (Gatorade, pasta, and powerbars) that enable the successful performance of that identity. In this example the clothes, equipment, and food are all 'identity related possessions' that allow the social actor to 'be' an athlete (Kleine, Kleine, and Kernan 2000).

DeNora (1999) presents convincing evidence that social actors use music in just such a way. The respondents in her study articulate their use of music to help them shift thoughts, emotions, and senses of self into those which are required by the moment. They report using a particular genre of music or a specific CD to get themselves ready for work, another to get in the mood for an evening with friends, and a different one for time spent with family. Furthermore, music is used to remember past events, former friends and lovers, or family members who had passed on in such a way as to construct a coherent narrative of the self (DeNora 1999). It is important to note the agency, or the

emphasis on music as a tool that is manipulated, that is inherent in DeNora's (1999: 44; italics in the original) conceptualization of the social actor:

In none of these examples, however does music simply *act upon* individuals, like a stimulus. Rather, music's 'effects' come from the ways in which individuals orient to it, how they interpret it and how they place it within their personal musical maps, within the semiotic web of music and its extra-musical associations<sup>6</sup>.

Other studies explore the ways music is used as a tool for the construction and presentation of self at the group level. In this view music is seen as offering definitions for social categories, such as gender or race. Social actors, then, adopt these definitions of their group identity and use them to indicate membership or distance themselves from non-members (Frith 1987). For example, Beyonce may offer listeners a definition of femininity as well as a means of identifying themselves as being female. This way of thinking about social categories and taste is evident in Forman's (2002) study of immigrant Somali youth. He finds that immigrant youth, faced with a harsh culture shock upon their arrival in the US, adopt expressions of American teenage 'blackness.' Specifically, these young men cultivate a taste for hip-hop music and culture as a coping strategy; it provides them a means to fulfill expectations placed on them in their new home. "Immigrant and refugee teens subsequently deploy the signs and practices that they see enacted in various performative modes by other teenagers as part of a complex orientation strategy which is also a strategy of identity formation and of fitting in" (113).

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<sup>6</sup> DeNora does acknowledge and describe ways in which music acts upon the body, an important point that is distinct from the cognitive manipulation described here.

In the African-American community music has historically provided a means to communicate group strength and pride or as a tool to contest group oppression. In the days before emancipation, gospel music was used by slaves to communicate otherwise illegal information to one another. For example, the refrain “steal away to Jesus, I ain’t got long to stay here,” was used to indicate a ‘departure’ on the Underground Railroad (Werner 1999). Since then African American artists have used music to assert pride in the community, e.g., James Brown’s “Say it Loud (I’m Black and I’m Proud)” or Tupac Shakur’s “Keep Ya Head Up.” Werner (1999) argues that Mahalia Jackson’s tendency to combine gospel and politics during the civil rights era provided the heart of the Civil Rights movement: “The black community’s overwhelming affirmation of Mahalia’s voice expressed a shared determination grounded in the unshakable knowledge that, in the eyes of God, their struggle was righteous ... her voice helped them hold the plow, and each other, tight.” (Werner 1999: 7-8). Here we see music as a tool for enacting a group identity that demands freedom, equality, and respect.

Consider further the use of music by Black Americans to assert distrust for societal institutions. Stevie Wonder explicitly and repeatedly criticized white politicians in a slew of hits during the 1970s, including the funky “You Haven’t Done Nothing” which reached number one on the Billboard charts in 1974. Over a decade later Run-DMC’s first popular hit “It’s like that (that’s the way it is)” offered frustrated Black Americans a voice to attack Reagan-omics: “Unemployment at a record high/ People coming, people going, people born to die/ Don’t ask me, because I don’t know why/ But it’s like that, and that’s the way it is” (Werner 1999). Each of these songs, and many more like them, evince the use of music to provide a voice and a rallying cry to combat

group oppression and negative stereotypes (Lamont and Molnar 2001).

In addition to using music as an assertion of a positive group identity, taste also works to communicate in-group membership. Tarrant (2001a, 2001b, Tarrant and North 2000) demonstrates a link between taste and both inclusionary and exclusionary behavior patterns. For a sample of British adolescents, liking popular music is among the top three most important characteristics of a person the adolescent would like to be friends with. Further, liking country and western music or classical music (those genres most disliked by the majority of students) are the top two characteristics identifying a person with whom the adolescent would *not* like to be friends (Tarrant et. al. 2001b). In further research, peers who are thought to like genres liked by the respondent are described as being more ‘popular,’ ‘fun,’ ‘easy to get along with,’ and ‘fashionable’ than persons who are thought to enjoy disliked music. Here we see taste acting as an indicator of group membership, as a source of in-group favoritism, and for positive identity maintenance (Tarrant et. al 2001b).

To summarize, the above literature offers four insights into the relationship between music and consumption. First, it argues that the goods people consume are extensions of the self that are used to help the actor successfully enact his or her identity. Second, we may conclude that music is one such good that social actors shape and mold into a tool for constructing and presenting coherent selves. Third, we see that music also allows for the construction and maintenance of group identities, as is particularly evident in the African-American community. And fourth, Tarrant (2001a, 2001b, Tarrant and North 2000) demonstrates how taste is used as a symbolic boundary.

The literature linking identity and consumption is criticized for two reasons. First, it's overly reductionist presentation of the relationship between identity and taste (Negus and Roman-Velazquez 2002). Second, it presents an ill-defined and imprecise understanding of identity (Belk 1988). In regard to the former, the authors point out the difficulty in suggesting that a particular genre is associated with a demographic group because that genre reflects some fundamental experience of that category. For instance, the assertion that punk expresses the angst of the working class and rap or jazz expresses the sentiments of Black Americans paints each social category as monolithic. It assumes that being working class or Black is experienced the same by everyone and can, therefore, be represented in a single genre of music. Indeed, Werner's (1999) account of the role of music in Black American lives could be subject to this criticism. That said, DeNora's (1986, 1999) and Forman's (2002) pieces depict an agentic consumer who derives meaning from music and manipulates it for his or her performance needs. This would suggest that 'women's music' is not 'women's music' because the musician has accurately expressed the feminine experience, but rather because some women have appropriated it as an expression of self.

On the other hand, Negus and Roman-Velazquez (2002) argue that although some musical genres are associated with social categories, the causal direction of this association is unclear. Specifically, they argue that music cannot create identities, a la Frith (1988), in the sense that listening to 'Latin music' does not make a white person Latino/a. This critique reveals the confusion in the culture literature regarding identity (Belk 1988). The culture and consumption literature rarely distinguishes between selves, individual identities, and group identities making it, at times, unclear exactly what kind of

identity is being explored and exactly how that identity influences, or is influenced by, the goods being consumed (see Kleine, Kleine and Kernan 2000 for a notable exception). Certainly listening to female music does not cause an individual with male body parts to grow female body parts. If we recall SIT's (Tajfel 1972) fundamental assertion that definitions of self stem from group associations, we can envision a male with a feminist identity that is shaped and articulated by consuming genres generally associated with women.

This paper seeks to build on Kleine, Kleine and Kernan's (2000) work by further explicating the relationship between identity and taste. Specifically, using the tenets of SIT (Tajfel 1972) I explore the relationship between identity and inclusiveness (omnivorousness) and exclusion (dislike or "univorousness"). I will also use the Atlanta Undergraduate Survey to explore the link between dislike and denigration. These hypotheses are outlined below.

#### *Identity and omni/uni-vorousness*

Omnivorousness has come under increasing scrutiny since Peterson and colleagues' (Peterson and Kern 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992) works made a splash over a decade ago. Bryson (1997) offers interesting insight into the univores. She reports that taste clusters are more likely to be linked to group boundaries such as race, ethnicity, religious conservatism, and geographic region at lower levels of education than at higher levels of education. To conclude her work she asks: "How did this pattern form and what difference does it make?" This is where SIT (Tajfel 1972) offers insight into the cognitive underpinnings of cultural theory. Specifically, I will test the assertion that omnivorous and univorous consumption patterns form as a result of social identities.

Secondly, I will assess the extent to which threats to identity increase exclusive tendencies and whether or not these exclusive tendencies also result in out-group denigration.

I have argued above that taste for a particular genre is the result of definitions of self, which are the product of group membership. Bryson (1997) begins to articulate this position when she states that social categories, such as race or religion, have been assigned meaning by society. Furthermore, symbols have been given to these groups that allow both insiders and outsiders to recognize members. She offers, as an example, the meaning (rebellious) attributed to youth (category) with skateboards (symbol). This argument is in line with Tajfel's (1972) assertion that social actors are separated into groups that have been given arbitrary meaning, power, and status (Hogg and Abrams 1988). These groups, and their assigned meanings, form our individual definitions of self. The symbols associated with such groups can be identity related possessions, such as a skateboard, that allow the individual to enact his or her social identity.

Consider the social actor who is a member of a large number of social groups. Each group constitutes a social identity with its associated behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs. This social actor may need a greater number of identity related possessions to successfully perform this multitude of social identities (Hogg, Terry and White 1995). To the extent that musical taste is one facet of an individual's social identity, then, I predict omnivorousness, or univorousness, to be a function of the number of social identities possessed by the respondent.

*Hypothesis 1: The number of claimed social identities is positively related to the number of genres liked.*

Definitions of self may also help to explain the nature of an individual's preferences for recorded music. Specifically, eclectic musical tastes may be a function of eclectic personalities (DeNora 2000). That is, an individual with an odd assortment of social identities is likely to need an odd assortment of identity related possessions to allow him or her to express him or herself. Or, perhaps, it is the case that as the number of identities increase taste becomes more eclectic as the individual reaches for new and unique goods to express him or herself. These ideas are reflected in hypotheses 2 and 3.

*Hypothesis 2: As the number of social identities a respondent claims increases so will the eclecticism of the genres enjoyed by that individual.*

*Hypothesis 3: As the eclecticism of an individual's social identities increases so will the eclecticism of the genres they enjoy.*

SIT may also help us to understand Bryson's (1997) finding that less-educated respondents were more likely to form taste clusters around non-class demographic groups such as race or gender. Recall that the individual's estimation of his or her self worth is bolstered when his or her group identity is portrayed in a positive light (Tajfel 1972). If high educational attainment is a marker of high status, then it is also, for those who possess it, a source of positive evaluations of the self. The SIT literature suggests that in these circumstances the individual will engage in some form of identity maintenance, perhaps by dissociating him or herself from the low status group or by emphasizing an alternative positive identity (Snow and Anderson 1987). Following this logic I argue that social identities should predict membership in taste cluster when doing so provides a positive source of self-worth.

*Hypothesis 4: Members of low-status taste clusters are more likely than their high-status counterparts to invoke non-class social identities, such as membership in a fraternal organization, service group, veteran group, political club, union, sporting group, youth group, school service group, hobby club, greek organization, nationality group, farming group, literary organization, professional society, or church group.*

In a final attempt to address Bryson's (1997) question regarding how these omnivorous and univorous patterns develop I will seek to understand the relationship between identity and distaste. Distaste is an important part of the equation, especially when we remember the notion that the lack of preference does not indicate distaste (Tampubolon 2008). So, the respondent who does not indicate an appreciation for folk music is different from the respondent who indicates a distaste for folk music. What, then, motivates an individual to dislike genres?

A similar conundrum is found in the SIT literature. Although some in the SIT (Tajfel 1972) tradition suggest that out-group hostility is the natural result of in-group favoritism, Brewer (2007) offers a convincing argument that this relationship is not nearly so simple. "The point is simply that in-group attachment may be a necessary but not sufficient cause of intergroup hostility and that it is possible to have in-group loyalty and attachment in the absence of conflict with out-groups" (733). If not in-group favoritism, what does instigate out-group hostility? Brewer (2007) argues that there must be some perceived threat to social and/or symbolic resources for inter-group hostility to develop. For example, an individual who feels his or her job is in danger may find security in drawing more rigid boundaries around him or herself by denigrating

“outsiders.” One way of doing so may be to denigrate the identity related products, or cultural goods, of others. These thoughts are reflected in hypothesis 5.

*Hypothesis 5: Individuals who perceive a threat to the resources necessary to enacting their social identity will dislike more genres than those individuals not experiencing threat.*

*Musical dislikes as a form of out-group denigration*

The last piece of the puzzle lies in understanding the relationship between disliking a genre and denigrating it. In previous work it is unclear if respondents indicate that they dislike a genre even if they can appreciate its aesthetic value (Bryson 1996; Tampubolon 2008). For example, an individual might state that they dislike rap music but appreciate that others enjoy it. This is different from an individual who states that they dislike rap music because it isn't real music, thereby dismissing the cultural product as a whole. Put another way, I ask if respondents appreciate the contributions of a genre without enjoying it themselves? Furthermore, are respondents more likely to denigrate those genres that they have associated with a social category? Such a finding would indicate a close tie between symbolic and social boundaries. Qualitative data analysis from the Atlanta Undergraduate Survey will be used to explore these issues in an attempt to begin discussing the effects or consequences of distaste and denigration.

*Conclusion*

Bryson (1997) has challenged the academic community to address the formation and consequences of omnivorousness and univorousness. I have suggested in this chapter that Tajfel's (1972) social identity theory provides theoretical mechanisms that help to unpack these processes as they are reported in the taste and consumption literature

(Bryson 1996; Bryson 1997; Coulangeon 2005; Peterson and Kern 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992). SIT, then, not only addresses how or why omnivorous taste patterns develop at the individual level, but also sheds light on the consequences of taste for inter-group relations. That is, by suggesting circumstances under which an individual might come to dislike, or even denigrate, a genre of music SIT allows for a more explicit tie between symbolic and social boundaries. Although previous attempts to incorporate identity into the consumption literature have been met with some confusion and frustration, I avoid previous pitfalls by testing a more precise conceptualization of identity and its relationship to consumption. In the following section I present the methods of analysis used in this study, followed by the results and discussion.

### **Chapter Five: Methods**

The 1993 General Social Survey serves as the primary data set for this study. It is augmented by a small convenience sample of Atlanta-based undergraduate students. The national survey is used to address questions having to do with the nature of audience segmentation and the relationship between social identities and preferences while the convenience sample is used to illuminate theoretical “black boxes.” In this chapter I begin by detailing the data sets. I then describe the methods used for each section of this dissertation.

#### *Data Sets*

A small sample of 107 undergraduate students from the Atlanta, GA area was gathered from March 18, 2008 – May 17, 2008. Student e-mail addresses were obtained from a complete listing of enrolled undergraduates at Emory University, Georgia State University, and Morehouse College. These schools were selected because of their

proximity to one another and the diversity of each student body in relation to the others. A random sample of 2,500 students was sent an e-mail asking for their participation in a study on musical taste. The e-mail stated that each survey was confidential and that the respondent may skip any question or end their participation at any time. Students were able to complete the survey at their leisure and consent was obtained when the respondent “clicked” on a link to the survey.

The low response rate to this survey is attributable to the timing of data collection and the length of the survey. Specifically, the survey took an average of 30 minutes to complete. Students were either unable or unwilling to spare this time due to the distribution dates. The distribution dates were determined by each institution’s ability to provide the names and e-mail’s for the sample and, in the case of Georgia State University, the timing of other on-campus data collection efforts. Due to these time constraints the survey was distributed near the end of the semester as final papers and exams came due resulting in the particularly low response rate.

As a result of these difficulties, four professors at Emory University allowed the researcher to recruit students in the classroom from May 20, 2008 – May 25, 2008. These students were read a script stating that their participation was entirely voluntary, did not affect their grades and that their responses would be kept confidential. The students were then given 30 minutes to complete a paper copy of the survey at that time.

In all, 107 students completed the survey. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents were female. Sixty percent of the respondents were white, 23% African-Americana and the remaining 17% were either Latino, Asian-American or self-identified as other. Although the data does not indicate which schools each respondent attended, 35% of

them were seniors, 25% juniors, 21% sophomores, and 19% freshman. Lastly, 9% of the respondents self-identified as upper class, 66% as middle-class, and 25% as working class.

While this non-random sample does not replicate the generalizability of the 1993 General Social Survey, it does allow for the researcher to address questions not asked in the national sample. Specifically, this survey allows the researcher to ascertain the extent to which each genre is perceived to have a prototypical listener who is of a particular race, class, gender, or educational level. Furthermore, the Atlanta Undergraduate Sample (AUS) sample allows an exploration of inter-group relations by asking respondents to indicate whether or not they value or respect genres that they do not enjoy. Details on the specific questions used for this study are presented in the following sections of this chapter.

These data are used to augment the 1993 Culture Module from the General Social Survey. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago conducts the GSS annually. In-person interviews were conducted with 1,606 respondents. This edition of the GSS is suited for this research because it is a nationally representative sample that provides a large enough  $n$  to conduct a hierarchical cluster analysis and the regression analyses. Additionally, the 1993 data allow for the respondent to indicate that they very much like, like, feel neutral, dislike, or very much dislike each genre. The importance of allowing for this range of responses has been addressed elsewhere (Bryson 1996; Tampubolon 2008). Specific variables used for this study are detailed in the following sections of this chapter.

### *Genre Associations*

As stated, the AUS is first used to ascertain the extent to which respondents perceive the prototypical listener of each genre to be of a particular race, class, gender or educational level. The majority of genres listed in the AUS are the same as those used in the 1993 GSS. Following the advice of Holt (1998) space music was dropped, Country/Western and Bluegrass was split into the categories “Traditional Country” and “Contemporary Country,” and rap music was separated into popular rap, contemporary R&B, and hip-hop. The rest of the categories remain the same: big band/swing, blues or rhythm and blues, Broadway musicals/show tunes, classical music – symphony and chamber, folk music, gospel music, jazz, Latin/mariachi/salsa, mood/ easy listening, opera, reggae, contemporary pop/rock, oldies rock, and heavy metal.

The respondent was asked to identify the prototypical listener of each genre with a series of questions regarding race, gender, educational attainment, and class: “When you think about the kind of person who listens to this music, are they \_\_\_\_\_.” For race, the respondents were able to choose white and or non-white. For gender, they were able to choose male and/or female. For educational attainment, they were able to choose high school graduate and/or college graduate. For class, they were able to choose upper class, middle class, and/or lower class. In each of the questions, the respondent was able to check as many responses as they felt appropriate, allowing the individual to mark, for instance, that the prototypical listener of Broadway musicals was male and female, white and non-white, etc. Furthermore, the respondent was allowed to not mark a given category (gender, race, educational attainment, or class) for a particular genre. These responses indicate a lack of perceived association between the social category and the genre.

-----Insert Table 2 Here-----

These data were used to assess the extent to which particular genres are associated with specific demographic categories. For race, sex, and education chi-square goodness of fit tests were used to ascertain the extent to which each genre carried a perceived demographic association. First, for each genre (rap, country, classical, etc) and each demographic category (sex, race, class, and education) the modal response was determined. That is, in regard to sex, the respondent was allowed to answer that the prototypical listener was 1=female, 2=male, or 3=either. In categories where 3 was the modal category, then, at face value, the genre is assumed to not carry a demographic association. Next, a chi square goodness of fit test is used to confirm three separate hypotheses: (a) that responses were either/or (i.e., that responses 1 and 2 were equally likely to be reported or); (b) that responses indicated either/or/either (i.e., that responses 1, 2, and 3 were equally likely to be reported) and (c) that response three (either) was the expected outcome. The test simply indicates whether or not there is a significant difference between expected and observed outcomes. A p-value greater than .01 indicates that the observed outcomes do not differ from the hypothesized outcomes. For this analysis, any p-value that is less than .01 will indicate that a genre carries a demographic association. When this occurs, the greatest value associated with a specific category, i.e., 1=female or 2=male, will be used to determine the direction of the association. If the p-value associated with any one of these hypotheses, however, does not differ from the expected value then that genre is assumed to not be associated with that demographic category (UCLA 2008).

There are two circumstances under which the chi square goodness of fit test is not appropriate. The first are cases where a particular demographic category was not recorded. It is, therefore, nonsensical to run a chi square goodness of fit test which asks if the observed outcomes (which vary across three possible responses) differ from the expected outcomes when there is not an observed third category. As an example, none of the respondents indicated that the prototypical listener for traditional country music was non-white. In instances such as these the genre is assumed to be associated with the modal category.

The second circumstance under which a chi square goodness of fit test is inappropriate is in regard to the analysis of class. Class was coded differently than the other demographic categories because there were six possible responses: low class, middle class, high class, low or middle class, middle or high class, low or middle or high class. Because of this larger range of responses it is more appropriate to simply describe the most common associations for each genre rather than to attempt a chi square goodness of fit test. This was done by recoding the six possible responses into three: lower/middle, middle/upper, and lower/middle/upper. A genre was coded lower/middle if the majority of responses were either low class, middle class or low or middle class. The chi square goodness of fit test is still not appropriate with these three categories because of the overlap of possible responses; specifically an indication of a middle class prototypical listener could be coded as indicating an association with a lower/middle, middle/upper, or lower/middle/upper class prototypical listener.

### *Audience Segmentation*

Complete linkage hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) was used to separate respondents in the 1993 GSS into taste clusters. HCA is a classification method whereby observations are linked to one another based on an algorithm that determines similarity (or dissimilarity if you prefer). In the first division there are as many clusters as there are observations (Hubert and Baker 1976). At each successive stage of the clustering process the most similar cases are linked to one another to create exclusive subclasses. These subclasses will, at different stages, link together until one remaining cluster, which consists of all the respondents, remains (Gordon 1987). Some researchers use this type of analysis to obtain the desired level of distinction between clusters (Hubert and Baker 1976). That is, the researcher chooses the number of clusters they wish to explore based on the desired level of segmentation, from very fine to very coarse. This project, however, will treat the cluster analysis in a similar manner as van Rees and van Eijck (2003). Specifically, the HCA is not used to identify a specific or “correct” number of clusters, but rather to discover differences in the data evident in varying levels of distinction. That is, in terms of social categories and symbolic boundaries, I am interested in how clusters split from two to three, or three to four. In so doing I explore the nuances of segmentation rather than the content of a pre-determined number of clusters.

There are a number of classification algorithms that may be used to determine the subclasses in a data set. The complete linkage method, used here, specifies that an observation join a subclass or cluster only when it has greater similarity with all members of one cluster when compared to any other cluster. This is distinct from other algorithms that only demand similarity with a single observation in the cluster (single linkage HCA) or similarity with the mean of a cluster (average linkage). The goal is for clusters to

reflect internal cohesion while remaining exclusive and distinct from other clusters (Punj and Stewart 1983). The complete linkage method was chosen for this project because it produces clusters that are theoretically consistent with the literature on audience segmentation (Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock 2007; Peterson and Kern 1992; Tampubolon 2008). That is, in the first three divisions clusters are formed that are similar to those found in previous literature. Specifically, the split from a unified group to two separate clusters produces results consistent with the omnivore/univore hypothesis. Again, when the clusters split into three the results are consistent with the work of Alderson, Junisbai, and Heacock (2007).

The HCA was run using the questions regarding respondents preferences for genres. The 1993 GSS allows the respondent to state their preference for or dislike of 13 separate genres: big band, bluegrass, blues or rhythm and blues, classical, country and western music, folk, gospel, heavy metal, jazz, Latin, new age, reggae, and rock music. Initially respondents were allowed to answer: like very much, like, mixed feelings, dislike, and dislike very much. When used for the cluster analysis these responses were collapsed into preference for a genre (coded 1), mixed feelings (coded 2) or dislike of a genre (coded 3). This was meant to streamline the analysis given that the interest here is the presence of a taste (or distaste) for a genre, not the degree of that preference. I have further manipulated the data by imputing missing responses with the ICE function in STATA. This was done to address Tampubolon's (2008) assertion that the preferences of less educated and non-white respondents are misrepresented when observations are dropped due to missing data. Indeed, he demonstrates that when the 1993 data are not imputed less educated persons and African-Americans are the most likely to be dropped

from the analysis, thereby making analysis of the role of race and education in boundary making problematic. After imputing the data, the  $n=1,606$ .

Once the cluster analysis was complete, the results were used to create a series of variables that identified each observation's membership in a subclass. This allows the researcher to see each respondent's membership in each subclass at each level of the cluster. Logistic and multinomial regressions were, then, used to determine the odds of being a member of a particular cluster based on the respondent's race, class, gender, religious and political affiliation. These predictor variables were chosen as reflections of common social boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002). Determining the musical preferences of the taste clusters is a tricky endeavor as it would be tautological to use the same variables that created the cluster (musical preferences) as independent variables in a regression. To resolve this issue I simply offer a descriptive account of the musical preferences of each cluster (when more than 60%, an admittedly arbitrary number, of a given cluster preferred or disliked a genre then that genre was considered to be indicative of that cluster).

### *Identity and Omnivorousness*

The 1993 GSS is also used to test the hypotheses regarding the role of social identities in the formation of omnivorous and univorous consumption patterns. Negative Binomial Regression is used to test hypotheses 1 and 5, given that this form of regression is appropriate when the dependent variable consists of a "count" (e.g., the number of genres liked). This method was chosen over the Poisson regression because the variance of the dependent variables, a count of genres liked for hypothesis 1 and a count of genres disliked for hypothesis 5 exceeds the mean. This suggests that the data are overdispersed

and, therefore, not appropriate for the Poisson model (Dowd 2004). For each of these models race, gender, and educational attainment are held constant due to their importance in the literature.

For hypothesis 1, the key independent variable is a count of social identities the individual possesses. The GSS asks respondents to indicate their membership in the following groups: fraternal organization, service group, veteran group, political club, union, sporting group, youth group, school service, hobby club, Greek organization, nationality group, farming group, literary organization, professional society, and church group. Respondents may indicate their membership in as many groups to which they belong. This manner of measuring social identities is inspired by Hunt (2003), who argued that group identifications can be measured in the same manner that Thoits (1992) measured role identities. The number of social identities is expected to influence the number of genres liked, a count of which serves as the dependent variable.

Hypothesis 5 predicts that experiencing some form of threat will lead to an increase in genres disliked. Threat is measured by a yes or no response to the question “Thinking about the next 12 months, how likely do you think it is that you will lose your job or be laid off—very likely, fairly likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?” Race, gender, and educational attainment are held constant and a count of genres disliked serves as the dependent variable.

Ordinary least squares regression is appropriate for hypotheses 2 and 3 due to the dependent variable that is continuous rather than a count, the eclecticism of the respondents’ taste. The eclecticism of each respondent’s taste was measured in two

steps. First, I began with patterns at the aggregate level by calculating the Jaccard similarity ratio for each genre pair in the survey:

$$\text{JSR} = a / (a + b + c), \text{ where}$$

“JSR” = Jaccard similarity ratio

“a” = number of survey respondents liking both genres;

“b” = number of respondents liking only one genre;

“c” = number of respondents liking only the second genre.

This Jaccard ratio tells us how common a pair of genres are simultaneously liked by all survey respondents. Hence, the distance between a pair of genres, then, is the inverse of the Jaccard ratio:

$$D = (1 - \text{JSR}), \text{ where}$$

“D” = the dissimilarity measure for a pair of genres;

“JSR” = the Jaccard similarity ratio for a pair of genres.

I repeat the above calculations for each of the 153 pairs found in the survey (e.g., dissimilarity). Once the dissimilarity measure was calculated for each pair of genres at the aggregate level (e.g., what all respondents liked), I then turned to the individual level and calculated an eclecticism measure for *each* survey respondent:

$$\text{EM} = [D * 100] / (P + 1), \text{ where}$$

“EM” = the eclecticism measure for an individual respondent;

“D” = the summed distances for all genre pairs liked by that individual;

“P” = the number of pairs liked by that individual.

In sum, rather than merely counting how many genres an individual likes, the eclecticism measure tells us about the breadth of that individual's tastes by comparing how unusual his / her preferred genres are when compared to the survey as a whole.

Hypothesis 2 predicts that as social identities increase the individual will become more eclectic in their taste. Controlling for race, education, and gender, I use the same count of social identities as described for hypothesis 5 as the independent variable.

Hypothesis 3 predicts that an individual with an eclectic set of social identities will have an eclectic musical taste. The dependent variable remains the same as for hypothesis 2. The dependent variable, the eclecticism of the individual's social identities, is calculated in a similar manner as the eclecticism of taste measure where a Jaccard similarity ratio is calculated for each identity pair:

$$\text{JSR} = a / (a + b + c), \text{ where}$$

“a” = number of survey respondents claiming both identities;

“b” = number of respondents claiming only one identity;

“c” = number claiming only the second identity.

As before, this Jaccard ratio tells us how common it is for a pair of identities to be simultaneously held across all survey respondents. Hence, the distance between a pair of identities, then, is the inverse of the Jaccard ratio:

$$D = (1 - \text{JSR}), \text{ where}$$

“D” = the dissimilarity measure for a pair of identities;

“JSR” = the Jaccard similarity ratio for a pair of identities.

I repeat the above calculations for each of the 105 pairs found in the survey (e.g., dissimilarity). Again, with the dissimilarity measure was calculated for each pair of

identities at the aggregate level, I turned to the individual level and calculated an eclecticism measure for *each* survey respondent:

$$EM = [D*100] / (P + 1), \text{ where}$$

“EM” = the eclecticism measure for an individual respondent;

“D” = the summed distances for all identity pairs held by that individual;

“P” = the number of pairs held by that individual.

Again, this eclecticism measure allows for an analysis of the breadth of an individual’s identities by comparing the uniqueness of his or her stated social identity combinations when compared to the rest of the survey.

#### *Disliking and Denigration*

Lastly, the AUS is used to assess the relationship between disliking a genre and denigrating or otherwise dismissing the worth of that genre. Respondents were asked to name their three least favorite genres and then to describe why they disliked these genres. The open-ended responses were coded 1 for responses that indicated some form of denigration. Denigration was determined to be present if the response included the words “noise,” “boring,” “horrible,” “not music,” “no talent,” or some similar terminology. Responses that did not indicate denigration (coded 2) include “don’t get it,” “don’t understand it,” “don’t relate to it,” or some similar terminology (Neuman 2003). Responses were also coded 2 when there was no response to the open-ended question.

Once the open-ended responses were coded, the disliked genres were counted to determine if there were differences in genres between the denigrating group and the disliking group. Specifically, I seek to explore if certain genres draw more ire than others

and if those genres are also the ones for which the respondents have perceived stereotypical listeners in mind.

The results from these methods are presented in the following chapter. I begin with a discussion of the respondent's perceptions of a stereotypical listener. The hierarchical cluster analysis is then presented, followed by the tests of hypotheses 1-5. Lastly I discuss the results of the qualitative analysis of the open-ended questions in the AUS regarding denigration of disliked genres. This results chapter is followed by a short discussion of the findings, some limitations of the study and avenues for future research.

## **Chapter Six: Results**

### *Genre Associations*

The Atlanta Undergraduate Sample (AUS) offers insight into questions 1a-1d, which were inspired by the Bryson (1996) and Tampubolon (2008) debate regarding the use of the perception of a prototypical listener of a given genre in drawing symbolic boundaries. I have argued that both authors could be accurate in their seemingly contradictory assertions if respondents perceive the prototypical consumer of rap, heavy metal, gospel, and country music to be less educated, lower class consumers. I, therefore, asked if respondents have perceptions in mind regarding the prototypical listener's sex, race, educational attainment, and class for a variety of music genres. The data provide reveal that although it is the case that not every social category (sex, race, educational attainment and class, gender) is associated with each genre, respondents selected categories from those listed to describe their understanding of the type of person most likely to listen to each genre.

Of the four demographic categories explored here, sex is the least likely to be associated with a particular genre. Specifically, the chi square goodness of fit tests reveal that twelve of twenty genres are not significantly linked with a sex. They are: contemporary country ( $p=.389$ ), classical ( $p=.214$ ), folk ( $p=.06$ ), gospel ( $p=.390$ ), Latin ( $p=.701$ ), mood/easy listening ( $p=.138$ ), opera ( $p=.565$ ), contemporary R&B ( $p=.556$ ), contemporary rock ( $p=.479$ ), jazz ( $p=.018$ ), hop-hop ( $p=.044$ ), and independent rock ( $p=.115$ ). Only one genre, Broadway, is identified as having a female prototypical listener. On the other hand, heavy metal is perceived as being a male genre. For the remaining six genres the modal response is three, indicating that respondents thought that both men and women listened to the genre. The chi square goodness of fit test, however, indicates that because anywhere from 20-40% of the respondents indicated male the genre is not gender neutral. I, therefore, interpret these data to suggest that big band, traditional country, blues, reggae, oldies, and rap are perceived by this sample of students as having a male prototypical listener.

----Table 3 Here -----

Respondents are most likely to identify a racial category that is associated with the prototypical listener of a given musical genre. Indeed, only two genres (jazz and hip-hop) have a three (either race) as the modal response. In these circumstances the chi square goodness of fit test results in p-values that are less than  $p.01$  ( $p=0.0$  and  $p=0.001$  respectively), suggesting that the observed outcomes differ from the expected outcomes (no association between race and the genre). This may be attributed to the fact that for both of these genres the second most common response was non-white, with less than 5% of respondents indicating that the genre was associated with whiteness. I, then, conclude

that despite the modal category, these genres are associated with non-whiteness. Including jazz and hip-hop, eight genres are identified as having non-white prototypical listeners. They are: blues, gospel, Latin, rap, contemporary R&B, and Reggae. The remaining twelve genres had a modal response of two, indicating the prototypical listener is perceived to be white. They are: big band, traditional country, classical country, Broadway, classical, folk, mood/easy listening, opera, rock, independent rock, oldies, and heavy metal. With the exception of jazz and hip-hop each of these genres' chi-square goodness of fit tests confirmed the modal pattern.

In regard to education, Broadway musicals, classical, and opera are closely associated with higher education. For opera and classical the modal response is 2, which indicates that the perceived listener has at least a college degree. No respondents indicated that the prototypical listener of opera had less than a college education making the chi-square-goodness-of-fit test inappropriate. The p-values for the chi-square-goodness-of-fit test for Broadway musicals and classical are less than .01, which suggests an association between these genres and higher education.

There is not a perceived association between big band ( $p=.08$ ), folk ( $p=.01$ ), jazz ( $p=.01$ ), mood/easy listening ( $p=.06$ ), independent rock ( $p=.18$ ), rock ( $p=.04$ ), and education. With the exception of folk music, the modal response for each of these genres is 3, indicating no perceived educational attainment level for the prototypical listener. The chi-square goodness of fit test for all six genres results in a p-value greater than .01, showing that there is no perceived association between the genre and educational attainment.

For traditional and contemporary country music, Latin, rap, reggae, and heavy metal the modal response is 1 indicating that the prototypical listener is perceived to have only obtained a high school education. The remaining three genres (gospel, hip-hop, and R&B) have modal responses of 3 but chi square goodness of fit tests where  $p < .01$ , suggesting an association between lower education and the prototypical listener.

Lastly, hypothesis 4 predicts that respondents will associate a social class with the prototypical listener of each genre. This hypothesis is partially supported; only five genres are not perceived to be associated with any particular class: rock, oldies, mood/easy listening, jazz, and big band. Broadway musicals, classical, opera, and independent rock are all perceived to have a middle-upper class prototypical listener. Finally, heavy metal, reggae, R&B, rap, hip-hop, Latin, gospel, folk, blues, and traditional and contemporary country music are all perceived to have a lower-middle class consumer.

Note that with the exception of jazz, all of the genres that are perceived to have a non-white prototypical listener are also perceived to have a lower-class consumer.<sup>7</sup> This is particularly curious when one considers Latin and hip-hop. The former because the genre 'Latin music' encompassed salsa and mariachi, thereby suggesting that the respondents perceived a wide variety of cultural products coming from Latin America to have lower class consumers. Hip-hop is particularly interesting in relation to independent rock music. Hip-hop music tends to be more focused on lyricism, complex beats, and 'social' messages (Werner 1999). Similarly, independent rock is thought to be cutting

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<sup>7</sup> The jazz finding is not surprising given that other authors have acknowledged the "aesthetic mobility" of jazz, whereby it is now part of legitimate culture. Paul Lope's book on jazz likewise demonstrates explicitly this upward mobility.

edge and innovative, less pop focused. Indeed, one could argue that hip-hop is to rap what indie is to contemporary rock. It is curious, then, that indie music is assumed to have a high- class listener while hip-hop is assumed to have a lower-middle class listener. These data reveal that the perception of a minority listener is correlated with a lower-class consumer – but not perfectly so given the notable exception of jazz.

In regard to the Bryson (1996)/Tampubolon (2008) debate, these results show that respondents in the AUS sample do, indeed, associate rap and hip-hop music, heavy metal, both traditional and contemporary country music, and gospel with a less educated prototypical listener. The data also, however, introduce a new question. Specifically, thirteen out of twenty genres are perceived to be consumed by less educated listeners; why aren't they disliked to the same extent as the infamous four?<sup>8</sup> Three of these genres (blues, Latin, and R&B) are listed in Bryson's (1996) work as being the first four genres added to an individual's preferences when that individual moves from average taste to broad or inclusive taste. If education is the determining axis, why do rap, country, gospel, and heavy metal incur such derision from consumers while blues, Latin, and R&B are embraced?

Consider the perceived race, class, gender, and educational attainment of the prototypical listener for each of these eight genres (see table 3). The country music genres (traditional and classic) and heavy metal are the only ones perceived to have a white prototypical listener. Furthermore, of all the genres perceived to have white prototypical listeners (big band, traditional country, classical country, Broadway, classical, folk, mood/easy listening, opera, rock, independent rock, oldies, and heavy

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<sup>8</sup> Traditional country, contemporary country, heavy metal, top-40 rap, gospel and opera were the most commonly disliked genres in the AUS.

metal), only the country genres and heavy metal are perceived to have a listener that is also less educated. While Bryson (1996) suggested that the intersection of race and education plays a significant role in the distaste for gospel and rap, these data suggest that the intersection of race and education results in a distaste for genres perceived to have less-educated white listeners.

-----Table Four Here-----

Determining why rap and gospel are disliked by tolerant elites when the blues, Latin, and rhythm and blues are accepted is a more difficult matter. According to the AUS, each of these genres is perceived to have a lower-class, less educated non-white prototypical listener. Gender does not play a factor here as blues and rap are perceived to be male dominated while Latin, R&B, and gospel are not associated with any particular genre. It is possible that other axes of stratification that are not accounted for in the AUS, perhaps age or religion, are playing a role here. Or, as Holt's (1997) work might suggest, perhaps Latin, blues and R&B are perceived to be more authentic reflections of non-white culture than rap and gospel are, thereby leading consumers to value them more. These conjectures, however, cannot be substantiated by the AUS and will need new data for further analysis.

In sum, I find support for questions 1a-1d in that respondents in the AUS do assign at least one social category to the prototypical listener of each genre. Respondents do not choose to assign a race, gender, class or educational level to the prototypical listener of every genre, but appear to have picked and chosen those categories that they consider to be most appropriate.

*Hierarchical Cluster Analysis*

The complete linkage hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) results in the cluster tree depicted in figure 1. There are four layers of divisions resulting in the eventual formation of five distinct clusters. Naturally, the dendrogram could be expanded to show as many divisions as necessary to result in 1,606 clusters; one for each individual respondent in the survey. However, a confirmatory factor analysis suggests that five factors (or clusters) provide the best representation of the data structure.<sup>9</sup> In this section I outline the musical likes/dislikes and the demographic composition of each cluster at each division and then will briefly discuss the confirmatory factor analysis.

----Figure 1 Here ----

In the division from one single unified audience to two distinct clusters we see a split between what I call, following Peterson and Simkus (1982), omnivores and univores. Sixty percent or more of omnivores like musicals, rock, jazz, big band, blues, gospel, easy listening, oldies and dislike heavy metal (see table 5). The only genre liked by 60% or more of univores is country and western. Opera, rap, heavy metal, Latin, newage, and reggae, however, are disliked by 60% or more univores. The logistic regression shows that race, gender, and education are all significant predictors of membership in the univore cluster (see table 5). Specifically, being white increases the odds of being a univore by 36%, being male increases the odds of being a univore by 25% and for every one unit increase in education, such as from high school to college, the odds of being a univore decrease. In the full model we see the same trends, but with the

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<sup>9</sup> The factor analysis was only used to determine the number of clusters necessary to reproduce the data (van Rees and van Eijck 2003). It is, therefore, not discussed further here, but is available upon request.

added significant positive relationship between Christianity and membership in the univore cluster.

-----Tables 6 and 7 Here-----

The second division splits the omnivore group into two, creating three clusters total. The univores are unchanged while the omnivores divide into what I call, following Alderson, Junisbai, and Heacock (2007), 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores and paucivores.<sup>10</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores have a similarly broad set of preferences as they did in the previous division (see table 4). They enjoy country, musicals, rock, jazz, big band, bluegrass, blues, folk, gospel, easy listening, and oldies. Paucivores enjoy a smaller range of genres; only four genres (rock, jazz, blues, oldies) are liked by 60% or more of the members of this cluster. Furthermore, paucivores and omnivores differ in regard to genres disliked. While 60% of omnivores dislike rap and heavy metal, this is not the case for paucivores who only dislike one genre, opera. The multinomial logistic regression (table 6) offers further insight into the differences between 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omni-, pauci-, and univores.

In the partial model, when omnivores are compared to univores, being female and having a higher education both increase the odds of being an omnivore. A one-unit increase in education increases the odds of being a univore by 47% while being male reduces the odds of being an omnivore by 25%. These two variables remain the only significant predictors of membership in omnivore cluster, when compared with univores, in the full model.

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<sup>10</sup> This language is preferred over Tampubolon's (2008) terminology for two reasons. First, the likes and dislikes of these three clusters are different from Tampubolons (likely due to different methods of measurement). Second, given this difference, I find the omnivore, paucivore, univore language to be a more accurate reflection of my clusters, i.e., those who like a lot, those who like a little, and those who like only one or two genres.

Race does not predict membership in the omnivore cluster when compared to univores. It is, however, a significant predictor of membership in the paucivore cluster when compared to univores. Indeed, being white reduces the odds of being a paucivore by 42% when compared to univores. In the full model comparing paucivores to omnivores (see table 7) religion is the only significant predictor of membership in the paucivore category, where being Christian reduces the odds of being a paucivore.

-----Table 8 Here-----

The third division splits the univore group into two, leaving four clusters; the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores and paucivores (who remain unchanged in their preferences), the rock/country cluster and the gospel/country cluster.<sup>11</sup> In the rock/country cluster 60% or more enjoy contemporary rock n'roll, oldies, and country music; they dislike opera, rap, heavy metal, Latin, and new age. Sixty percent or more of the gospel/country cluster enjoys country, gospel, and easy listening; they dislike opera, rap, rock, heavy metal, Latin, newage, reggae, and oldies (see table 4).

Multinomial logistic regressions indicate that race plays an interesting role in this division (see tables 8 and 9). Being white increases the odds of being a gospel/country member when compared with omnivores, paucivores, and rock/country members. It does not, however, predict membership in the rock/country cluster when compared with omnivores or paucivores. This suggests that the gospel/country folks are the whitest of all the clusters while the rock/country cluster is racially similar to omnivores and paucivores. Being a Christian increases the odds of being in the gospel/country cluster when compared with paucivores, omnivores, and the rock/country cluster. These two

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<sup>11</sup> Previous literature has not resulted in 4 clusters, therefore this language is original and open for discussion.

variables are the only significant predictors of membership in the rock/country cluster when compared to the gospel/country cluster.

Education increases the odds of being either a paucivore or an omnivore when compared with either the rock/country cluster or the gospel/country cluster. Lastly, being a female increases the odds of being an omnivore when compared with either the rock/country or the gospel/country cluster.

In the final division the paucivore category divides into two, leaving five clusters. The 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivore, rock/country, and gospel/country clusters remain unchanged. I call one of the “new” clusters 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivores given that their musical preferences in this division are similar to those in past divisions with the only difference being an added preference for musicals and a dislike for rap, heavy metal, and new age music. The other genre, which I call rock univores, is characterized by their limited preferences and dislikes: only two genres (rock and oldies) are liked by 60% or more of these respondents. This cluster only dislikes opera music (see table 4).

Tables 10 and 11 present the multinomial regressions with the omnivore and rock univore clusters as the base categories, respectively. Race, Christianity, and education again played an important role in predicting membership in each cluster. Being white reduced the odds of being a 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivore when compared with each of the other four clusters. Being a Christian increased the odds of being a 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivore over a rock univore, but decreased the odds when compared with the gospel/country cluster. Lastly, a one-unit increase in educational attainment increased the odds of being a 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivore when compared to rock/country, gospel/country and rock univores.

-----Tables 10 and 11 Here-----

In sum, these data offer an account of the social and symbolic boundaries that distinguish groups of consumers from one another. In the broadest or coarsest divisions, from one to two clusters and from two to three clusters the breadth of genres liked and the number of genres disliked are significant in regard to symbolic boundaries. At the same level of division race, education and Christianity differentiate between univores, 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores and the eventual paucivores. Indeed, the univores are overwhelmingly white and Christian from the very first split and they remained this way until the gospel/country cluster was almost wholly defined by these two variables. People of color and respondents of all races with higher educational attainment distinguish the omnivores from the univores. When the paucivores split from the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores only religion is a significant predictor. The paucivores remained non-white throughout subsequent divisions, and their educational attainment is second only to 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores.

-----Figure 2 Here-----

In increasingly fine-grained divisions the symbolic boundaries seem to shift from breadth of preference to the specific likes and dislikes of the clusters. This is particularly evident when the univores split (into rock/country and gospel/country) and when the paucivores split (into paucivores and rock univores). This level of distinction appears to coincide with more refined social boundaries that focus on race and education. For example, the paucivore and rock univore split results in the paucivores being the least-white cluster. Similarly, the gospel/country and rock/country split results in the gospel/country cluster being predominantly white, with non-whites moving to the rock/country cluster. Indeed, these data suggest a more nuanced understanding of audience segmentation and provide a more explicit account of the relationship correlation

between social and symbolic boundaries. Specifically, these results indicate that symbolic and social boundaries work at different levels of distinction within the same audience.

### *Identity and Omnivorousness*

The hypotheses in this section assess the role of social identities in the formation of consumption patterns. I find support for the prediction that as the number of social identities claimed by an individual increases so will the number of genres enjoyed by that individual (hypothesis 1). The negative binomial regression model predicting number of genres liked from number of social identities claimed is statistically significant (chi-squared = 51.24, df =4,  $p < 0.006$ ). Gender, educational attainment, and number of social identities claimed are each statistically significant. The expected log count for sex and education are -.06 and .04 respectively. The expected log count for a one-unit increase in identities claimed is .025. This results in approximately one additional genre liked for three standard deviation increases in identities claimed.

I do not find support for hypotheses 2 or 3. The former predicts that as the number of claimed identities increases so will the eclecticism of that individual's taste and the latter predicted that as identities become more eclectic so will taste. In the OLS model, educational attainment is the only significant predictor for both dependent variables. Upon closer inspection it is possible that a relationship between identity and the breadth of a respondent's taste has been confounded by my measures of eclecticism. The hypotheses state that numerous or eclectic identities will result in eclectic taste. This proposed relationship does not account for the subjective meanings of identity or the agency involved in using an eclectic variety of genres for the development and expression of a single identity. One can imagine an individual who uses eclectic tastes to

express either a small number of identities or identities that are similar to one another. For example, the Jaccard distance between country and new age music is similar to that of rap and gospel music (.867 and .866 respectively). While country and new age seem intuitively different, rap and gospel music might be used as tools for the construction and expression of a single African-American identity.

Perhaps, then, measuring the effect of eclectic identities on the number of genres liked better captures the relationship between identity and eclecticism. Indeed, an individual with a variety of definitions of self would need a larger number of identity related possessions to maintain and express those identities than an individual with less eclectic definitions of self. The negative binomial regression predicting that the number of genres liked will increase with an eclectic set of social identities was statistically significant (chi-squared = 44.36,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < 0.000$ ). Gender, educational attainment, and the eclecticism of social identities claimed were each statistically significant, although the affect of eclectic social identities was small. The expected log count for a one-unit increase in gender and educational attainment are, respectively, -.06 and .04. The expected log count for a one-unit increase in identities claimed was .001. This results in approximately one additional genre liked for four standard deviation increases in identity eclecticism.

----Tables 13 and 14 Here-----

I found partial support for hypothesis 4, which predicted that membership in lower status taste clusters is influenced by non-class based social identities more so than their high-status counterparts. The status of the taste cluster was determined by the mean educational attainment of each cluster. The five cluster option is used to provide the

greatest variation. The omnivores and paucivores have the highest mean educational attainment (13.7 and 14 years of education respectively). The gospel/country cluster has the lowest educational attainment (11.7 years) followed by rock country (12.5 years) and the rock univores (13.1 years). Logistic regressions were run with each cluster compared to the rest of the sample. Memberships in a church group or a veterans group were significant predictors of membership in the gospel/country cluster when the gospel/country cluster was compared with the rest of the sample. Membership in the paucivore cluster, the cluster with the highest educational attainment, was not significantly affected by any of the social identities. Therefore, at the extreme ends of highest and lowest status, hypothesis 4 is supported.

The results are, however, slightly less clear when the omnivores are considered. This group, with the second highest educational attainment, invoked three social identities: member of a nationalist group, member of a literary group, and member of a professional society. This is contrary to the prediction of hypothesis 4 in terms of number of identities invoked, but not in regard to the effect of those identities on membership. That is, the effects of each social identity on the odds of being a gospel/country member are greater than those predicting membership in the omnivore cluster.<sup>12</sup> The results, therefore, support the prediction of hypothesis 4 but introduce an additional question: why do omnivores invoke a greater quantity of social identities than gospel/country members?

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<sup>12</sup> Being a church member increased the odds of being a gospel/country member by a factor of 2.42. Being a member of a veterans group increased the odds of being a gospel/country member by a factor of 2.36. Being a member of a nationalist group increased the odds of being an omnivore by a factor of 2.2. Being a member of a literary group increased the odds of being an omnivore by a factor of 1.7. Being a member of a professional group increased the odds of being an omnivore by 1.5.

Finally, in regard to the relationship between identity and dislike, hypothesis 5 predicts that persons experiencing some form of threat will respond by drawing tighter symbolic boundaries. The negative binomial regression predicting that the number of genres disliked will increase with threats to employment is statistically significant (chi-squared = 21.48, df =5,  $p < 0.0007$ ). Although the fear of losing one's job is not significant, the expected log count (.1927) for having experienced unemployment in the past ten years is. This indicates that an individual who has experienced unemployment in the past ten years, when compared to an individual who has not, will dislike an additional half of a genre.

To summarize, I find support for a series of hypotheses that predict a relationship between definitions of self and musical taste. I find that persons with more social identities or more eclectic social identities enjoy a greater number of genres than their counterparts with fewer definitions of self. I further find support for the argument that members of low-status taste clusters will engage in some form of positive identity maintenance by invoking non-class social identities. Lastly, the findings reveal that persons who have experienced some threats to their self worth, in the form of unemployment, dislike more genres than those who have not had this experience. This suggests that experiencing a threat to one's self worth results in the drawing of tighter symbolic boundaries. Given this, one might further ask what motivates an individual to denigrate a particular genre as opposed to simply disliking that genre?

#### *Dislike and denigration*

One hundred of the 107 AUS respondents explained why they did not like particular genres of music. Of these responses forty-nine were coded as involving

derogatory language that suggested denigration of the genre. Derogatory comments tend to fall within one of two trends. The first, and most common trend, is to challenge the quality or authenticity of the genre: “They sound pre-packaged and as if the songs are written according to a formula. At least to the uninitiated, there’s no variety. I can’t stand the southern-ness of country, or the misogyny and glorification of crime in most rap;” “Often too commercial sounding so its lacking in creativity;” “country: trite, insincere lyrics and boring, overdone rhythm metal: cacophonous.” Other respondents in this trend question the intelligence of the artists and producers of the genre: “it’s horrible, the accents are idiotic and it’s embarrassing to listen to;” “I think they’re unintelligent, sometimes derogatory (rap esp.) and uninteresting (pop rock);” “lack of knowledge...unoriginality.”

It is important to note that there are respondents who indicated that they did not care for the rhythm or lyrics of a genre in non-derogatory ways. For example: “I don’t like the flow of the music in rap. I can’t easily sing along with it.” Another respondent indicated: “I can’t understand the lyrics in these genres, and the overall tone seems frustrated.” I use these responses to illustrate the difference between those respondents who simply stated distaste for the genre and those who took the extra step to belittle the artist or genre.

The second form of denigration is to identify an unpleasant physical or emotional response to the genre. Ten respondents indicated that they did not like the genres because it lacked some perceived fundamental component of music: “not musical, sounds like noise.” This type of comment is often followed by some indication of a negative physical or emotional reaction to the music: “headache inducing;” “They’re irritating;” “they grate

on my nerves;” “its just annoying.” In all, eighteen respondents indicated an adverse reaction to their most disliked genres. Once again, some respondents were able to state that they did not care for their disliked genres without denigrating those genres: “I dislike the tone of the singer and the loudness.”

Interestingly, with the exception of opera, the most disliked genres are the same for both the denigrators and the non-denigrators (rap, heavy metal, and country). The difference is that non-denigrators also dislike opera music. Given that all four of these genres are associated with a prototypical listener, one wonders if the presence of a white, college-educated, middle/upper class prototypical listener among their most disliked genres influenced the voracity of their distaste. Indeed, these results offer information regarding the nature of denigration and provide a springboard for further research that explores the social conditions that provoke denigration.

### **Chapter Seven: Discussion**

In this dissertation, I have sought to illuminate the social psychological processes that are inherent in the literature on taste and symbolic boundaries. Specifically, I have asked if respondents carry perceptions regarding the prototypical listeners of musical genres? What symbolic and social boundaries are invoked as consumers draw lines between themselves and others? And, finally, what are the causes and consequences of these consumption patterns? These questions were inspired by work in the omnivore/univore tradition (Bryson 1996, 1997; Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro and Lopez-Sintas 2007; Peterson and Kern 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992 and Tampubolon 2008) – as well as by DiMaggio (1997) and Rubotsova and Dowd (2004), who argue that certain theoretical black boxes in cultural sociology may be clarified by exploring

underlying social psychological processes. I have focused on the role of perceptions and social identities in the creation and maintenance of symbolic boundaries, which are expressed by individual taste. I used the 1993 general social survey culture module and a small sample of undergraduate students from the Atlanta, GA area to answer these questions.

I began by asking respondents in the AUS to identify the sex, race, educational attainment and class of the prototypical listener of a number of genres of music. Questions 1a-1d, which predicted that respondents did associate these social categories with musical genres, were supported. Although not every genre is associated with every social category, each genre is associated with at least one social category. Interestingly, a specific race is associated with every genre while sex is the least likely to be associated.

These hypotheses were inspired by a debate in the literature between Bryson (1996) and Tampubolon (2008). Tampubolon (2008) has used imputed data to question Bryson's (1996) assertion that even the most musically tolerant respondents dislike rap, heavy metal, gospel, and country music because of those genres' association with less educated consumers. The basis of the debate is Tampubolon's (2008) assertion that those genres are not actually preferred by less educated consumers because Bryson's drop rule disproportionately left out less educated persons and African-Americans. I have argued that the actual fan-base of these genres is immaterial; if respondents perceive the prototypical listener to be less educated then they will draw their symbolic boundaries according to that perception. This study reveals that in the AUS respondents perceive rap, heavy metal, gospel, and country music to have a less educated prototypical listener.

Given this perception, it is possible that the infamous four genres are disliked due to an erroneous assumption that a less-educated fan base consumes these genres.

Furthermore, these analyses indicate that the intersection of race and education leads to a particular disdain for genres associated with white, less-educated consumers. In the AUS, heavy metal and country music are among the least liked genres and the only two perceived to have a less educated, white prototypical listener. A hierarchical cluster analysis performed on the 1993 GSS provides further evidence of the existence of symbolic boundaries that isolate less-educated whites. In the division from a unified audience to two distinct clusters the omnivores are a racially diverse cluster with a mean educational attainment of 13.7 while univores are mostly white respondents with less education. As the audience split into more distinct clusters less-educated whites become increasingly more isolated, eventually creating a gospel/country cluster that is 90% white with a mean educational attainment of 11.7 years. These findings are contradictory to Bryson's (1996) assertion that the intersection of race and education leads to the disdain for rap and gospel music – genres that she associates with African American consumers.

In addition to understanding how perceptions contribute to symbolic boundaries, this study sought to understand the process of audience segmentation. Following the methodology of van Rees and van Eijck (2003), I explored the symbolic and social boundaries invoked at each level of segmentation. The analyses show that breadth of genres liked, or omnivorousness versus univorousness, act as a symbolic boundary when divisions of the audience are cast in the broadest terms. That is, the first and most coarse division results in a cluster of individuals who enjoy very few genres while disliking many and a second cluster of individuals who exhibit a taste for a number of genres. As

the divisions become more fine-grained content appears to be more salient by serving as a symbolic line of demarcation within these breadth-based clusters. This is evident in the split between the rock/country and gospel/country cluster.

Race, religion, and education are the most common predictors of membership in any given cluster throughout the segmentation process. All three categories are invoked in the first split (omnivores and univores) (see figure 2). In subsequent divisions race works as a social boundary isolating the gospel/country cluster and the 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivores. Indeed, being white reduces the odds of being a 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivore when compared to the rock/univores, omnivores, rock/country, and gospel/country clusters. On the other hand, being white increases the odds of being a gospel/country member when compared to everyone but the omnivores. Christianity also affects the odds of membership throughout the segmentation process. Being a Christian versus a non-Christian increases the odds of being a gospel/country member and decreases the odds of being a rock/univore member when compared with all other clusters. Education acts to separate the univores from the other groups, where a one unit increase in education reduces the odds of being a univore. It is not, however, a significant predictor of membership between the rock/country and gospel/country clusters or the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores and 5<sup>th</sup> tier paucivore clusters suggesting that its greatest effect on audience segmentation occurred in the broadest divisions.

From these analyses I conclude that it is necessary to consider the level of distinction between audience segments when discussing either symbolic or social boundaries and musical taste. Education and breadth of genres are paramount in the broadest divisions. As those coarse clusters divide into more distinct groups religion and specific musical genres are more commonly invoked. Race is an interesting case in that

it acts as a predictor throughout the segmentation process. Indeed, race is significant for membership in the univores in the first division and the paucivores and gospel/country members in the final division.

Thus far I have found support for the broad questions that respondents assign a race, class, gender, and/or educational level with the prototypical listener of musical genres. I have also provided evidence that suggests that the audience, when separating themselves from one another, invoked a variety of symbolic and social boundaries. The final aim of this study was to use social identity theory to address the causes and consequences of these taste patterns.

Support was found for hypothesis 1, which predicted that as the number of social identities increased so would the number of genres liked. No support was found for hypotheses 2 or 3. A re-thinking of this relationship, however, resulted in the prediction that the number of genres liked would increase with an increasingly eclectic set of social identities. This relationship is supported. Taken together, these analyses suggest that multiple or eclectic definitions of self increase the number of genres liked (DeNora 2000; Kleine, Kleine, and Kernan 1993). I argue that this is a function of the use of music as an identity related possession. That is, the individual with many or varied social identities will need a larger number of genres to develop, maintain, and express his or her social identities.

Support was found for hypothesis 4, which predicted that individuals in low-status clusters would invoke more social identities than their high status counter-parts. This question was inspired by Bryson (1997) and based on the assertion that individuals in possession of a low-status social identity will emphasize alternative, more positive, social

identities as manner of preserving self-worth. Indeed, gospel/country members invoke two social identities while paucivores, the cluster with the highest mean educational attainment, invoke none. These results are qualified by the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores, however, for whom three identities are significant predictors of membership. These findings can be explained in two ways. First, it is important to note that the individual effect of each social identity on cluster membership is greater for the low-status cluster than for the omnivores. That is, although three social identities were significant in predicting membership in the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivore cluster the effect of each identity was greater for members of the gospel/country cluster. Second, it may be the case that 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivores invoke alternative social identities, regardless of status, because they provide a means for distinguishing oneself from out-group members in such a way as to result in positive self-evaluation. Although Bryson (1997) found an interaction effect between status and alternative social categories, these results suggest that this relationship may need further exploration.

Lastly, I explored the relationship between identity and distaste. These hypotheses were inspired by Bryson's (1996; 1997) emphasis on distaste and the literature on inter-group relations in SIT (Brewer 1999). Hypothesis 5 was supported by the data. Individuals who had experienced threat, in the form of unemployment, are more likely to dislike a greater number of genres than those who had not experienced unemployment. Furthermore, the AUS analyses reveal that those individuals who explain their dislike of a genre without using derogatory language are more likely to have listed opera among their least favorite genres. Those who do explain their dislike of a genre using derogatory language do so in one of two ways. They either question the

intelligence/authenticity of the artist or identify an uncomfortable physical or emotional response to the music. These results illustrate the difference between distaste and denigration. Not all persons who dislike a genre, not even all persons who greatly dislike that genre, disparage that genre. Indeed, some people are capable of explaining their distaste in somewhat neutral terms while others engage in attacking either the music or the producers of the music.

This study contributes to the literature in three ways. First, I use a “process” approach to interpreting the HCA that highlights the interplay between level of segmentation and symbolic and social boundaries (van Rees and van Eijck 2003). In so doing I provide evidence that understanding the level of distinction is integral to understanding the relationship between symbolic and social boundaries and musical taste. Specifically, the finding that breadth of taste, Christianity, race and education are paramount in early divisions but give way to race and specific genres in later divisions highlights the confusion that could stem from classifications that stem from an *a priori* determination of the level of nuance. The approach to interpreting HCA used here opens avenues for research that combines preferences with active consumption at multiple levels of segmentation to understand the nuance of symbolic and social boundary making.

Second, by explicitly investigating the role of perception in the debate on the use of music as an exclusionary tool, this study directly addresses the Bryson (1996)/Tampubolon (2008) debate. My conclusion that respondents’ assumptions about the fan-base of any given genre is more important than the actual fan-base of that genre provides a theoretical context in which both authors findings’ have validity. I have also

used the perceptions of the respondents in the AUS to suggest that the intersection of race and education is evinced in a symbolic boundary meant to exclude less educated whites. Not only were country and heavy metal the only genres to have a perceived fan-base of less educated whites, several of the derogatory comments were directed towards the culture associated with those genres. Consider the way this respondent, who listed contemporary country as his/her most disliked genre, explicitly a dislike of the associated social category: "I can't stand the southern-ness of country." Another respondent, who reported only disliking country music, also directly demeans the culture: "its (sic) horrible, the accents are idiotic and its (sic) embarrassing to listen to." Finally, an individual who reported only disliking heavy metal questions the incorporation of this genre as music at all: "Screaming + bass + drums does not equal music...to me at least." By directly asking respondents to identify a prototypical listener and to explain why they don't like certain genres, I provide evidence of a direct link between symbolic and social boundaries.

Lastly, by illuminating the role identity plays in the formation of personal taste I offer a context in which to re-imagine the causes and consequences of the *habitus*. Specifically, my assertion that taste is a function of social identities gives insight into the development of omnivorous taste patterns. Conversely, I understand dislike as being a function of threat or a limited number of self-definitions from which to draw. In so doing I begin to address the causes and consequences of taste patterns.

The results of this study should be read in light of its limitations. First, the AUS is a small convenience sample and is, therefore, not generalizable. A larger, representative study on music and perceptions is an important next step in substantiating

the findings presented here. Secondly, the 1993 GSS culture module is over a decade old. More recent iterations of the culture module have not included an option for respondents to indicate their distaste for a particular genre. An updated version of the culture module with this option and more modern genre offerings would provide greater insight into the state of American audiences today. Lastly, the open-ended aspect of the AUS ought to be a study of its own, with more detailed data gathered through interviews and focus groups.

By bringing these social psychological processes to the forefront I offer grounds for a more nuanced, and yet more detailed, understanding of the role of taste in the reproduction of inequality. Indeed, SIT's long and fruitful tradition of investigating inter-group relations provides strong theoretical footing for addressing Bourdieu's original concern (1984). Specifically, research could focus on the process of acquiring musical taste as an identity related possession or the manipulation of music for the purpose of successful presentation of self. How do economic and cultural resources affect the development of personal expression through music? Furthermore, how do instances of symbolic violence, or the denigration of alternative cultural goods, influence identity? Lastly, can changing one's taste affect one's understanding of the self and/or the in-group? Questions such as these would keep the focus on the social psychological underpinnings of cultural theory and, might, provide a more fruitful context in which to explore the *habitus*.

*Table 1: Literature on Taste Clusters*

<b>Authors</b>	<b># of Clusters</b>	<b>Names of Clusters</b>	<b>Data</b>
Coulangeon (2007)	5	N/A	Survey of French Cultural Practices 1997
Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005)	Evolved from 4 to 6	Passive, lowbrow, quasi-omnivore, entertainment, snob, and omnivore	Survey Public Participation in the Arts 1982-2002
van Rees and van Eijck (2003)	8	N/A	Time Use Survey, Netherlands
Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro, Lopez-Sintas (2007)	4	Omnivores, limited, temperates, moderates	Survey Public Participation in the Arts 1982-2002
Tampubolon (2008)	3	Omnivore A, Omnivore B, Univore	General Social Survey 1993
Alderson, Junisbai and Heacock (2007)	3	Omnivore, Paucivore, Inactive	General Social Survey 2002

Table 2: Genre Associations from the Atlanta Undergraduate Sample:

Big Band				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – either	0.0	0.0	.0005
Race	2 – white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- either	0.0	.012	.003
Class	Middle class, high class, middle and high class – 75% of responses			

Traditional Country				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – either	0	0	.01
Race	2 – white	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education	1= High School degree only	.0001	.0002	0.0
Class	Low class and low/middle class – 85% of responses			

Contemporary Country				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – either	0.0	0.0	.389
Race	2 – white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3 – either	0.0	0.0	.0001
Class	Low class and low/middle class – 65% of responses			

Blues				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – either	0.0	0.0	.0017
Race	1- non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	1- High School degree only	.004	.009	0.0
Class	Low class and low/middle class – 60% of responses			

Broadway Musicals				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – either	N/A	N/A	N/A
Race	2- white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3 – either	0.0	0.0	.0014
Class	Middle class, high class, middle and high class – 90% of responses			

Classical				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – either	0.0	0.0	.2141
Race	2- white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	2- College degree only	0.0	0.0	0.0
Class	High class, middle and high class – 95% of responses			

Folk				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3- either	0.0	0.0	0.06
Race	2- white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	1- High school degree only	.002	.01	.0001
Class	Low class and low/middle class – 74% of responses			

Gospel				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	.3902
Race	1- non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.0012
Class	Low/middle class, all classes – 70% of responses			

Jazz				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	.018
Race	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	0.0	0.001	0.013
Class	Low/middle, middle/high, all classes – 70% of responses			

Latin				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Either
Sex	3 – Either	0.0	0.0	.7011
Race	1- Non-white	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education	1 – High School degree only	.0001	.0001	.0004
Class				

Mood/ Easy Listening				
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	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Neither
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.138
Race	2- White	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.068
Class				

Opera				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Neither
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	.5653
Race	2 – White	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	2 – College Degree	N/A	N/A	N/A
Class				

Rap				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Neither
Sex	3 – Either	N/A	N/A	N/A
Race	1- Non-white	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education	1- High School degree only	N/A	N/A	N/A
Class				

Hip-hop				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Neither
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.0448
Race	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.0001
Education	3 – Either	N/A	N/A	N/A
Class				

Contemporary R&B				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Neither
Sex	3 –Either	0.0	0.0	.556
Race	1- Non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.0009
Class				

Reggae				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Neither	P-value for Neither
Sex	3-Neither	0.0	0.0	0.0025

Race	1- Non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	1- High School degree only	0.0	0.0	0.0001
Class				

Contemporary Rock				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Either	P-value for Either
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	.4794
Race	2- white	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.0439
Class				

Independent (Indie) Rock				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Either	P-value for Either
Sex	3- Either	0.0	0.0	0.1157
Race	2- White	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	0.0	.02	0.0
Class				

Oldies Music				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Either	P-value for Either
Sex	3- Either	N/A	N/A	N/A
Race	2- White	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	3- Either	.0002	.0003	.0027
Class				

Heavy Metal				
	Modal Category	P-value for Either/Or	P-value for Either/Or/Either	P-value for Either
Sex	2- Male	N/A	N/A	N/A
Race	2- White	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	1- High School degree only	0.0	0.0	0.0
Class				

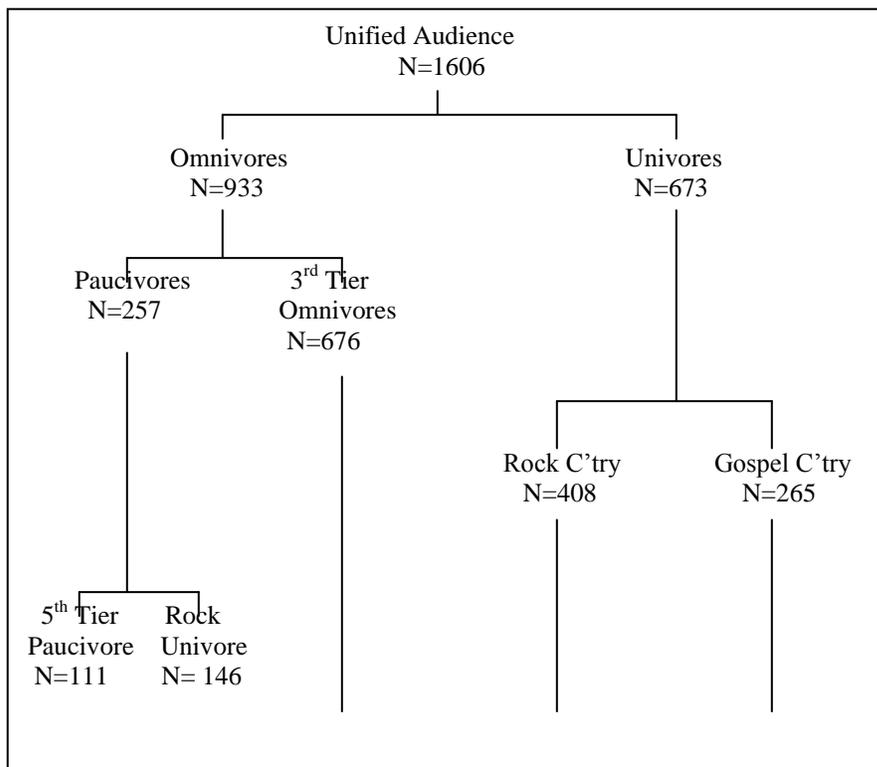
Table 3: Sex, race, educational attainment and social class of the prototypical listener; Atlanta Undergraduate Sample

	Sex			Race			Education			Class		
	<u>Male</u> (1)	<u>Female</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)	<u>White</u> (1)	<u>Non-White</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)	<u>HS</u> (1)	<u>College</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)	<u>Lower/Middle</u> (1)	<u>Upper/Middle</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)
Big Band	X			X					X			X
Traditional Country	X			X			X			X		
Classic Country			X	X			X			X		
Blues	X				X		X			X		
Broadway		X		X				X			X	
Classical			X	X				X			X	
Folk			X	X					X	X		
Gospel			X		X		X			X		
Jazz			X		X				X			X
Latin			X		X		X			X		
Mood/Easy Listening			X	X					X			X
Opera			X	X				X			X	
Rap	X				X		X			X		
Hip-Hop			X		X		X			X		
R and B			X		X		X			X		
Reggae	X				X		X			X		
Rock			X	X					X			X
Indie			X	X					X		X	
Oldies	X			X			X					X
Heavy Metal	X			X			X			X		

*Table 4: Race, sex, educational attainment and social class of the prototypical listener in the Atlanta Undergraduate Sample for the five most disliked genres and Blues, Latin and R&B*

	Race			Sex			Education			Class		
	<u>White</u> (1)	<u>Non-White</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)	<u>Male</u> (1)	<u>Female</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)	<u>HS</u> (1)	<u>College</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)	<u>Lower/Middle</u> (1)	<u>Upper/Middle</u> (2)	<u>N/A</u> (3)
Traditional Country	X			X			X			X		
Classic Country	X					X	X			X		
Heavy Metal	X			X			X			X		
Rap		X		X			X			X		
Blues		X		X			X			X		
Gospel		X				X	X			X		
Latin		X				X	X			X		
R and B		X				X	X			X		

Figure One: Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of the 1993 General Social Survey



*Table 5: Musical Preferences of All Clusters from the 1993 General Social Survey*

<b>Division</b>	<b>Cluster</b>	<b>Musical Preferences</b>
1	Omnivore N=933	Likes: Musicals, Rock, Jazz, Big Band, Blues, Gospel, Easy, Oldies Dislikes: Heavy Metal
1	Univore N=673	Likes: Country Dislikes: Opera, Rap, Heavy Metal, Latin, Newage, Reggae
2	Paucivore N=257	Likes: Rock, Jazz, Blues, Oldies Dislikes: Opera,
2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Tier Omnivore N=676	Likes: Country, Musicals, Rock, Jazz, Big Band, Bluegrass, Blues, Folk, Gospel, Easy Listening, Oldies Dislikes: Rap, Heavy Metal
2	Univore N=673	Likes: Country Dislikes: Opera, Rap, Heavy Metal, Latin, Newage, Reggae
3	Paucivore N=257	Likes: Rock, Jazz, Blues, Oldies Dislikes: Opera
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> Tier Omnivore N=676	Likes: Country, Musicals, Rock, Jazz, Big Band, Bluegrass, Blues, Folk, Gospel, Easy Listening, Oldies Dislikes: Rap, Heavy Metal
3	Rock/C'ntry N=408	Likes: Rock, Oldies, Country Dislikes: opera, rap, heavy metal, Latin, New age
3	Gospel/C'ntry N=265	Likes: Country, Gospel, Easy Dislikes: Opera, rap, rock, heavy metal, Latin, Newage, Reggae, Oldies
4	5 <sup>th</sup> Tier Paucivore N=111	Likes: Musicals, Rock, Jazz, Blues, Oldies Dislikes: Rap, heavy metal, newage
4	Rock Univore N=146	Likes: Rock, Oldies Dislikes: Opera
4	3 <sup>rd</sup> Tier Omnivore N=676	Likes: Country, Musicals, Rock, Jazz, Big Band, Bluegrass, Blues, Folk, Gospel, Easy Listening, Oldies Dislikes: Rap, Heavy Metal,
4	Rock/C'ntry N=408	Likes: Rock, Oldies, Country Dislikes: opera, rap, heavy metal, Latin, New age,
4	Gospel C'ntry N=265	Likes: Country, Gospel, Easy Dislikes: Opera, rap, rock, heavy metal, Latin, Newage, Reggae, Oldies

Table 6: Logistic regression on 1993 General Social Survey with omnivore as base category

	Model One		Full Model	
	Univore		Univore	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	.304*	1.36*	.283*	1.32*
Male (versus female)	.220*	1.25*	.242*	1.23*
Education	-.369**	.691**	-.355**	.701**
Christian (versus non-Christian)			.438**	1.55**
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)			.101	1.11

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01  
N=1,592

Table 7: Multinomial Logistic Regression on 1993 General Social Survey with Univore as the base category

	Model One				Full Model			
	Omnivores		Paucivores		Omnivores		Paucivores	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	-.200	.818	-.541	.582**	-.159	.853	-.529	.589**
Male (versus female)	-.277	.758*	-.077	.926	-.281	.755*	-.171	.842
Education	.388	1.474**	.322	1.37**	.389	1.47**	.285	1.33**
Christian (versus non-Christian)					-.167	.846	-.957	.384**
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)					.151	1.16	.01	1.01

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01  
N=1,590

*Table 8: Multinomial Logistic Regression on General Social Survey with Omnivores as base category*

	Model One		Full Model	
	Paucivores		Paucivores	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	-.340	.711	-.366	.693
Male (versus female)	.199	1.22	.109	1.11
Education	-.066	.936	-.104	.901
Christian (versus non-Christian)			-.790**	.453**
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)			-.162	.851
*p<.05 **p<.01 N=1,592				

Table 9 : Multinomial Logistic Regression on General Social Survey with Omnivore as the base category

	Model One						Full Model					
	Paucivore		Rock Country		Gospel Country		Paucivore		Rock Country		Gospel Country	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	-.340	0.71	-.017	0.98	.616*	1.85*	-.369	0.69	-.066	0.93	.59	1.80**
Male (versus female)	.200	1.22	.266	1.30*	.294*	1.34*	.109	1.12	.250	1.28*	.32	1.39*
Education	-.066	0.94	-.349**	0.71**	-.452**	0.64**	-.103	0.90	-.3606	0.70**	-.43	0.65**
Christian (versus non-Christian)							-.791	0.45	-.092	0.91	.71	2.05**
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)							-.162	0.85	-.198	.818	.08	.927
*p<.05 **p<.01 N=1,587												

Table 10: Multinomial Logistic Regression on 1993 General Social Survey with Gospel Country as the base category

	Model One						Full Model					
	Paucivore		Omnivore		Rock Country		Paucivore		Omnivore		Rock Country	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	-.956	0.38**	-.616	0.54**	-.633	0.53**	-.959	0.38**	-.590	0.55**	-.656	0.52**
Male (versus female)	-.095	0.91	-.294	0.75*	-.028	0.97	-.219	0.80	-.329	0.72*	-.078	0.93
Education	.386	1.47**	.451	1.57**	.103	1.11	.333	1.39**	.437	1.55**	.076	1.08
Christian (versus non-Christian)							-.151	0.22**	-.719	0.48**	-.811	0.44**
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)							-.086	0.92	.076	1.07	-.124	0.88

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01

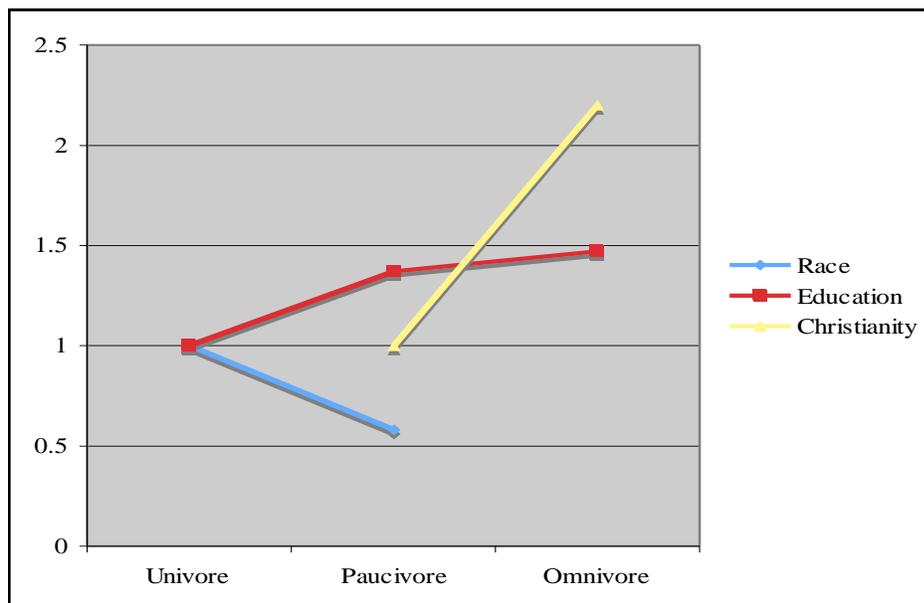
Table 11: Multinomial Logistic Regression on General Social Survey with omnivore as the base category

	Model One				Full Model			
	Paucivores		Rock Univores		Paucivores		Rock Univores	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	-.965	0.381**	.334	1.397	-.993	0.37**	-.317	1.37
Male (versus female)	-.010	0.990	.360	1.433*	-.054	0.95	.242	1.27
Education	.094	1.099	-.199	0.820**	.073	1.07	-.253	0.77
Christian (versus non-Christian)					-.388	0.68	-1.06	0.35
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)					-.144	.865	-.177	0.84
*p<.05 **p<.01 N=1,595								

Table 12: Multinomial logistic regression on General Social Survey Rock Univore as base category (only paucivore and univore results are displayed)

	Paucivore			
	Model One		Full Model	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
White (versus non-white)	-1.29	0.27**	-1.31	0.27**
Male (versus female)	-.370	0.69	-.297	0.74
Education	.293	1.33**	.327	1.38**
Christian (versus non-Christian)			.672	1.95*
Democrat (versus non-Democrat)			.032	1.03
*p<.05 **p<.01 N=1,592				

Figure 2: Odds of membership in the univore, paucivore and 3<sup>rd</sup> tier omnivore clusters based on race, education and faith



*Table 13: Negative Binomial Regression predicting number of genres liked using 1993 General Social Survey*

	Coefficient
Number of social identities	.025**
White (versus non-white)	-.042
Male (versus female)	-.066**
Education	.037**
Alpha	.055**
*p<.05 **p<.01 N=1602	

*Table 14: Negative Binomial Regression predicting number of genres liked using 1993 General Social Survey*

	Coefficient
Number of social identities	.002**
White (versus non-white)	-.040
Male (versus female)	-.066**
Education	.042**
Alpha	.057**
*p<.05 **p<.01 N=1602	

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